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23 July 1984

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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23 July 1984

# USSR REPORT

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## INTERNATIONAL

### DIFFERING APPROACHES OF U.S., USSR TO ARMS RACE, NEGOTIATIONS

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 84 (signed to press 3 Apr 84) pp 9-25

[Article by Yu.A. Zhilin: "Security in the Nuclear Age"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] To keep trying, even when it seems that all possibilities have been exhausted, that the battle is totally lost--this has always been considered to be the rule, a quality, of real military leaders. Only the fate of some authority or even a state was at stake then, however. Today, it is man's fate on the planet for all time. It is a question of "To be or not to be?" in the literal and not the philosophical sense. Too much is at stake, and whatever the situation!--man does not have the right to say: "That's it! It's hopeless"!--Ales' Adamovich

The landmarks of history are fixed not by the calendar but by events--and not everyday events, naturally, but important events, breakthroughs. Such an event--for both Europe and the entire world--came to maturity and occurred at the end of 1983. With complete justification the broadest public opinion perceived that year as a special year in the development of the international situation--it was called a "turning point," "critical" and "decisive." It was not a matter of words, but one of the awareness of the unprecedented, dangerous consequences for the entire world of the realization of the U.S. administration's intentions to begin deploying new nuclear missiles on the European continent. The appearance of Pershing and cruise missiles there could not be called an unexpected event. Decisions preventing this move would also have been an event, of course, although of a totally different kind. Unfortunately, this kind of agreement was not reached due to the fact that it was ruled out by the American administration's primordial plans and intentions.

Official circles in Washington and certain West European capitals, putting the very best face on the very worst matter, pretended--at least in the beginning--that nothing special had occurred: There had been no "event," or it was nothing unusual--they were simply following the schedule set by NATO decision back in 1979, and the missiles could be removed as easily as they could be brought in.... There was a multi-purpose aim behind all this--to lower the vigilance of peoples,

to force them to accept as inevitable the continuing amassment of nuclear weapons, and to conceal their own responsibility for the deteriorating international situation.

In fact, the situation is the following: Mankind is still at a fork in the road, but Washington's militaristic course is increasingly nudging it onto the path leading to the abyss. This unpleasant fact was stated outright in the declaration made in November of last year by Yu.V. Andropov: "It is not Europe's security which is increasing with the deployment of American missiles on European soil, but the real danger that the USA will draw the peoples of Europe into a catastrophe."<sup>1</sup> The American administration has unleashed a new coil in the arms race spiral. It broke off the Soviet-American talks in Geneva. It has brought things to a serious exacerbation of the international situation.

Does this mean that the slide toward world catastrophe has become an irreversible process? No, it does not. The struggle against nuclear war is essentially a matter in which there will never be a minute, even an instant, when it is permissible to say that it is already too late, that nothing can be done. In this respect, every year is a crucial one. The powerful forces advocating peace have not yet had their final say. They have not laid down and never will lay down their weapons in the war against war. The strategy of life continues to counter the strategy of death and will overcome it. This strategy of life is nurtured by modern man's extremely diverse life: both by the new global realities which have brought the nuclear age with them and by the revision of the old ideas on security--national and international--which is occurring in the social awareness of extremely broad popular masses, in trends in the social thinking of the most diverse sociopolitical forces.

#### "The Nuclear Age"

An appeal issued to the governments, parliaments and peoples of all nations around 20 years ago by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Government of the USSR contained words which express the main meaning of all the Soviet leadership's work even today: "The Soviet Union once again calls upon the governments of all nations to demonstrate realism in the assessment of the balance of power and the possible consequences of a war in the nuclear age, and to take effective steps to eliminate the threat of a new war."<sup>2</sup>

"The nuclear age"... the very concept is not simply a logical extension of the previous system of terms: "the age of steam," "the age of electricity".... These were symbols born of new motive forces in public production. The energy of the atomic nucleus demonstrated itself first of all to be a destructive force and precisely as such it laid the foundation for that period in the history of man which begins in August of 1945--with Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In the international vocabulary "the nuclear age" designates a period not so much of the creative use of the extremely powerful form of energy so much as the danger hovering over mankind; not so much its mastery of the forces of nature as much as their threatening uprising against man--due to the existence of a social order

which generates war between nations and peoples. But the nuclear age has introduced to the system of international politics not merely such methods as the incineration of the peaceful population with nuclear bombings and nuclear blackmail, poorly concealed or even unconcealed designs to cut once and for all with the nuclear sword the Gordian knot of international, or even social, problems, for the sake of the hegemonistic objectives of American imperialism to dictate its will to the world. "...It is criminal," K.U. Chernenko has stated, "to regard thermonuclear war" as a rational and almost 'legitimate' extension of policy."<sup>3</sup> Such a war has ceased to be a means of achieving political goals. This occurred not just because of the unprecedented destructive qualities of nuclear weapons, but also because of the special, new distribution in the new balance of sociopolitical forces in the international arena, especially socialism's progressive transition into an increasingly decisive factor in world social development. And this did not occur all at once.

Secret documents of the American administration of the 1940's were published several years ago, which revealed the substance of projects in existence at that time (one code-named "Drop Shot," for example) for dropping nuclear bombs on many Soviet cities--Moscow, Leningrad and others. This very orientation of Washington's strategic military thinking, embodied in actual plans, discredits repeated attempts by President R. Reagan to depict the post-war policy of the USA as a policy of restraint and love for peace and as a positive statement to the effect that the military superiority of the USA was not used for unleashing a third world war. The numerous armed conflicts in which American armed forces have participated directly or indirectly also attest to the complete inefficacy of such attempts.

It is a fact, of course, that nuclear weapons have not been used against the USSR. Why not? Because the highly moral considerations which the White House bosses so love to talk about gained the upper hand? It is doubtful that anyone could be convinced of this: Moral considerations were not a restraining factor, after all, when the decision was made to bomb Japanese cities--and without any military necessity--on the eve of the total defeat of Japanese militarism. The nuclear element has always been present in all post-war American doctrines--"containment" and "restraint" of socialism, "massive retaliation" and "flexible response"--and the moral element was totally absent.

If nuclear weapons were not employed, the restraining factor was certainly not the morality of the American presidents, but important circumstances of an objective nature--the changes occurring in the distribution of strategic military forces in the nuclear age. We can isolate the following main phases of these changes: firstly, the elimination of the USA's monopoly on nuclear weapons at the end of the 1940's; secondly, elimination of the invulnerability of U.S. territory based on its geographic location beyond "two oceans"--as a result of the Soviet Union's development of intercontinental missiles, which occurred in the 1950's; and finally, the achievement of general strategic military parity between the USSR and the USA, between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism in general. This occurred back in the 1970's.

The American administration's entire contemporary course could be called a "quest for lost time"--certainly not a moral quest, but one of a most immoral order.

Fortunately, its futility hinges not merely upon this immorality. Washington's aspirations are futile because of the great reality which exists within the framework of the nuclear age and which serves as one of the most important factors for preventing both nuclear war and nuclear dictation. The strategic military parity achieved deprived the USA of the possibility of blackmailing the socialist world with nuclear threats. This parity is a reliable guarantee of peace. This is precisely why the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations are doing everything possible to preserve it.

Parity means that the creep toward the nuclear annihilation of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people would simultaneously be self-destruction for the power which unleashes such a conflict, suicide for those who would resort to the most heinous crime in the history of mankind.

#### Old Concepts in Counterbalance to the New Realities

"The gravest crime against humanity..."--this is the definition, in legal terms, of the actions of states and statesmen which would be the first to resort to the use of nuclear weapons. It is not merely an emotional expression from the alarmed minds of individual, prominent personalities of modern times, beginning with Albert Einstein, not merely the precisely stated moral and political assessment of dozens and dozens of public organizations with various ideological orientations, including American organizations, and including religious organizations; of organizations and movements of people, the uprising of whose feelings against the nuclear plans R. Reagan is attempting to curb and suppress.

This definition is contained in the declaration adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1981 at the initiative of the Soviet Union. Many allies of the USA voted against it. Why did they do so? The answer has to be unequivocal: the fact that what the vast majority of members of the world community of states considered to be criminal, a nation's leaders who lay claim to leadership of the world considered to be legitimate.

In 1982 the Soviet Union made the unilateral commitment not to be the first to employ nuclear weapons and called upon the other nuclear powers to follow its example. As of now there have been no reciprocal moves on the part of the West. Why not? Once again, the answer is clear: They still accept the possibility of being the first to employ nuclear weapons, that is, to unleash a thermonuclear war.

These answers do not stem merely from logical deductions. They are reinforced by extremely substantive arguments: in the first place, there are the programs of all-round build-up of means of mass destruction; and in the second place, strategic military doctrines focusing on the use of these means for the achievement of objectives. Remember that these doctrines call for a "first," "disarming" strike; a "limited" nuclear war; and finally, a "long, drawn-out" nuclear war. A policy is being conducted with the aim of subverting the objective logic of the nuclear age, disregarding everything, of throwing down the cynical gauntlet to the very conscience of contemporary humanity.



A situation is developing, which is unprecedented in history: Practically before the eyes of the entire world preparations are being made for the greatest of crimes, the victim of which could be not one but several nations, the human species as such.... Someone once said that the first victim of a war is truth. We could add: and the first victim of preparations for a war. The greatest of crimes needs the greatest of lies.

The machinery for turning out the greatest of lies is both crude and subtle. The machinery combines both the one and the other. Preparations for a nuclear catastrophe have given new impetus to the old mythopoeia about the "Soviet military threat," about an alleged Communist ideology of expansionistic endeavoring to destroy the capitalist system with armed force from without. The purposive super-task is not just a matter and not so much a matter of slandering socialist policy and socialist ideas. The super-task is one of justifying preparations for the greatest of crimes.

The style of the current American administration is distinguished mostly by inexcusable distortions of the Soviet Union's policy, of its actions and intentions, and unscrupulous methods--deliberate distortions of matters. And Washington is not at all embarrassed by the fact that these falsifications fall apart in the face of the most unbiased evidence. Statements to the effect that parity in the strategic military area has been destroyed to the benefit of the Soviet Union and to the detriment of U.S. security are refuted in the United States itself by such figures as former U.S. Defense Secretary McNamara, as an example, who did perhaps more than any other defense secretary of that nation to build up the USA's nuclear muscles. In any case, his competence in these matters can be trusted, and one would never suspect him of any pro-Soviet leanings.

Each exposure of the deception fails to make the apologists of nuclear war blush, to be sure. Shamelessness has become a sort of political style in this respect. The exposure of one lie prompts a sequence of false insinuations on various grounds or without any grounds at all.

The propagandistic, psychological preparations for a nuclear conflict, however, are designed not merely for simple deception, which no longer always works. The machinery for manipulating public opinion also uses Philistine delusions, simple ignorance and finally, stereotypes in political thinking developed during the pre-nuclear era. Any sort of predominance of prejudice over reason is exploited, especially prejudices involving the sense and understanding of national security. This subject needs to be discussed separately.

Deception is betrothed to self-deception, both of "the powers that be" and of those who are under their ideological influence. Self-deception is sometimes excusable from the individual standpoint, but from the political standpoint it is just as dangerous as a deliberate lie. Miscalculations can be more dangerous than any designs in the nuclear age.

What sort of self-deception do we mean? We mean the indirect ideas and concepts of more militaristically-minded ruling circles of the imperialist

nations and simultaneously, the obsolete criteria of national security, which were instilled also in the broader public awareness.

The main postulate of President R. Reagan's foreign policy stands out in numerous speeches made by him. "Preparedness for war," he states, "is the most effective means of preserving peace." How this reminds one of the archaic thinking inherent in the imperialist policy not long before the onset of the nuclear age! Let us recall that K. Marx himself wrote: "Of all the dogmas of the sanctimonious policy of our time (this was written 125 years ago--author) not one has caused as much trouble as the dogma which states: 'if you want peace, prepare for war.'" This great truth, distinguished mainly by the fact that it contains a great lie, is the war cry which summoned all of Europe to arms...."<sup>4</sup> Now the militant philosophy and manner of behavior of the imperialist bourgeoisie have been dragged from the 19th century to the end of the 20th. It was described by K. Marx back then: "...the general trend toward barbarity is assuming a methodical nature, immorality is being elevated to a system, lawlessness is being legitimized, and the right of brute force is receiving codes."<sup>5</sup> If we apply this description to Reagan politics, it fits perfectly, as they say. It is enough to take a fleeting glance at the map of the world, from Grenada to Lebanon....

The American administration's position is by its very essence profoundly false: to justify preparations for war in the interests of preserving peace, and aggressive actions and armed intervention in the interests of defending peace. It would not be enough, however, to limit oneself to assessing this policy from the moral or even the legal standpoint. It is thoroughly archaic, because/ the very policy of preceding from a position of force has ceased to be a powerful policy in the nuclear age. It is based on the latest types of weapons, but also on an obsolete political philosophy/.

#### Security: National and International

Objectively, national security means a situation for a given state within a system of states, which assures its independent existence in the presence of an actual or potential danger from an outside force. There is also a sense of national security, however, which, if based on the archaic concepts of the pre-nuclear age, can be exploited for purposes contrary to true national security, to its authentic criteria in our era.

Since the beginning of time the sense of "one's own" national security has frequently been removed or even isolated from the needs of international security. We could say that the concept and the sense of international security began to develop in the broad public awareness only at the threshold of and after the world wars. For a number of socio-political reasons, however, this feeling did not become the dominant logic of real international life by far.

In the nuclear age the destabilization of international relations holds the danger of nuclear war with its catastrophic consequences, which will not pass over a single nation. In the past the concept of national security dictated, with more or less justification, the expectation of emerging victorious in



case of a war. Such expectations are not applicable to a nuclear war, however. The only way to strengthen national security when faced by the threat of a nuclear war is to prevent it. National security can become a matter of fiction, if methods which undermine international security are used to reinforce it. The undermining of international security is detrimental to the national security of any nation, because it is fraught with the danger of nuclear war. /And so, in the contemporary situation national security is linked in the most organic way with international security--even more, with global security. This is the prime reality of the nuclear age/.

### Security and Weapons

From the beginning of time a sense of national security has rested on self-provision and self-equipment with weapons. In many cases this reflected objective reality, but it ultimately contributed to the development of modern militarism. Since the beginning of the imperialist era, however, the development of new types of weapons has prompted mankind's best minds to approach the problem from a different angle. F. Engels, for example, wrote the following: "Everyday, technology ruthlessly discards everything as no longer useful, even that which has just been introduced into use. It is now eliminating even the romantic powder smoke, thereby giving the battle a totally different nature and different progression, which it is absolutely impossible to predict. And we are increasingly being forced to deal with quantities which do not lend themselves to registration in the situation of this constant revolutionizing of the technical basis for conducting warfare."<sup>6</sup> F. Engels foresaw and wrote about the fact that the impending World War I would result in enormous human and material losses. Directly continuing this thought and developing it with consideration for the "material" which that war provided, V.I. Lenin warned that the employment of the latest, powerful gains of science and technology "could--and inevitably would--lead to the undermining of the very condition for the human society's existence."<sup>7</sup>

And when the CPSU tells peoples the truth about the disastrous consequences a nuclear war would have for mankind, it is thereby continuing the Marxist-Leninistic tradition also of the scientific registration of revolution in the technical means of conducting warfare and political appeal to the masses for purposes of activating their vigilance with respect to the new nature of the danger of war. It is not just a continuation of tradition, however. It is backed by a specific study of the particular features precisely of the nuclear age.

The Soviet Union and other peace-loving states are countering the irresponsible attempts to condition people to think that nuclear war is acceptable by focusing political will on the prevention of catastrophe, on securing the right to life for people.

The resorting to unrestrained competition in the arms race to achieve the goal today, which is undermining international security, also threatens national security. This stems both from the specific qualitative characteristics of missile-borne nuclear weapons and from the actual political distribution of

these weapons within the general "concert of powers," which could become a "theater" of military operations embracing the entire planet. The gamble on the achievement of military superiority is illusory and at the same time dangerous. Political and strategic military tenets which do not accept this axiom of our age are not simply creating "a balance of fear." Increasing the weight of weapons on the wavering scales of world policy is increasingly undermining its stability and making the world more fragile.

The planet is oversaturated with means of mass destruction. But this is not enough: This oversaturation process is continuing. Even this is not enough, however: The very increase in the mass of nuclear weapons increases the danger that they could be activated either through some military-political miscalculation or deliberately--as a result of some technical "malfunctions" in the latest weapons systems, which will detonate a universal nuclear conflict.

The arms race is increasingly undermining global security also for the reason that it is resulting in the development of kinds of weapons which are increasingly difficult for other states to monitor or verify. This means that possibilities for banning or limiting them on the basis of international agreements are becoming more limited. In other words, this race could get out of control. The Reagan Administration's intention to open the gates, which could turn it into an unrestrained race, are especially dangerous for all of these reasons.

Certain paradoxical characteristics of the arms race in the nuclear age need to be explained.

First of all, something about the real significance of the concept of oversaturation of the planet with means of mass destruction. Translated into practical language, this means that an adequate quantity of weapons has been accumulated to destroy all of mankind or even every living thing--many times over. Various figures are given, but many writers generally agree on a ten-fold destructive capability. But what is the capability for multi-fold destruction, if not a statement on the senselessness of continuing the arms race? (If its significance is seen in the destruction or the restraint of a potential enemy.) Why strive for multi-fold destruction, if the very concept "destruction" is sufficiently simple and is by its very meaning a one-shot process? The paradox lies in the fact that the arms race is simultaneously losing its objective, as it were, and accelerating its run "to nowhere." Why is this happening?

In the present phase of the nuclear age weapons have been developed with such features and are distributed in approximately equal proportion between the two main possessors of these weapons, that they can actually not be employed by a single side without suicidal consequences--the universal nuclear catastrophe. Both progress in destruction techniques and regression in political thinking have a tendency to sway this truth.

The arms race has not just a quantitative side, but a qualitative aspect as well. Along with an overall increase in the total power of nuclear weapons, the

accuracy of their carriers and the force and the nature of their destructive action are being enhanced, the amount of time required to deliver them to the target is being reduced, and so forth. All of these innovations are producing in the American militarists a slide toward "giving meaning" to the arms race, "getting their way by cunning" and "replaying" history. Specifically, they are creating the capability for a so-called first "decapitating" or "disarming" strike. This is a strike which would rule out, as it were, or at least greatly weaken a retaliatory strike, one capable of destroying the political and military centers directing the armed forces and neutralizing the enemy's main nuclear-missile launchers--in other words, winning a nuclear war at a certain "cost." A nuclear war cannot be won today, however, for the reasons previously noted. In order to prevent attempts to win one in the future, retaliatory measures capable of neutralizing such attempts are needed.

Restraining nuclear adventurists with countermeasures blocks one source of conflict--the deliberate unleashing of one. There is still the possibility of an accidental outbreak of such a conflict, however, and it is increasing as the quantity of weapons grows. It is precisely for this reason that the Soviet Union does not regard retaliatory measures as an absolute panacea eliminating the danger of war, but constantly seeks political solutions aimed at halting the build-up of military capabilities.

Now, a word about a paradox born of the nuclear age--the possibility of "accidental" outbreak of war.

Does this possibility mean that technology has simply "suppressed" policy, made policy subordinate to its logic? Of course not, although we say this with a certain qualification: The very logic of purely scientific and technological research, and then the development of new means of mass destruction of people, are determined, of course, by the initial political objectives. This logic, however, can lead policy, which serves as its motor, to effects not politically predicted in this specific form, to a situation in which technology "breaks out" from under the control of policy.

Behind the possibility of an "accidental" outbreak of war stands an objective tendency to subordinate both the search in the area of scientifically consistent work and the results of that search to the interests of the military-industrial complex. The "accidental nature" of what we refer to could find its natural expression due to the absence of a political will to curb the arms race. The absence of this will is also policy. Obsolete policy might not be able to control the extremely modern equipment, might "let the genie out of the bottle"....

"Pre-nuclear" political thinking is no longer the dominant thinking in the nuclear age, however. This thinking and the realities it produced are countered by realities of a completely different kind: the all-round development--on an international scale--of a socialist social system, to which militaristic motives for defining political goals are alien due to its social nature; the emergence of dozens and dozens of states from the ruins of the colonial empires, which, regardless of their class nature, do not and cannot share the interests

of imperialist policy because of their social and economic needs; and finally, the understanding of the disastrous possible end results of such a policy by its spokesmen, who are known as "realistically thinking people," who can see slightly beyond their own noses and attempt to contain that policy within the framework of calculated steps, controlled and directed in one way or another. But this is only possible when the lawful interests and the natural reaction ultimately of all members of the international community of states are taken into account.

The real course of world events is determined by the antagonism between the two trends, the objective "coexistence" of which cannot be eliminated within the foreseeable future. And the role of the subjective factor in all its diverse manifestations is growing so extensively precisely because of this: as the aware comprehension of the real dilemma raised by the nuclear era by statesmen and by public and political figures, as social attitudes, which in turn reflect the common denominator of the reason and the prejudices of the broad masses and, finally and most importantly, as the practical activeness of the spokesmen for various trends and the degree to which all international policy is affected by various attitudes.

The struggle between the two main trends is deeply based on the antagonism between the two social and political systems--capitalism and socialism. Although we can see this fundamental class principle, we cannot dogmatically limit everything to it, because the struggle between the two trends permeates the entire socio-political structure of the contemporary capitalist society. And it is certainly not demarcated by the watershed of "class against class." It is also occurring as a struggle among individual elements of the dominant class there and the parties representing it, as well as within those parties.

And so, the struggle between forces of peace and the forces of war is not limited to the struggle between two systems, but permeates the entire non-socialist part of the world, both "horizontally" and "vertically."

The fallacious idea that nuclear war is fatalistically inevitable has completely compromised itself in the eyes of international public opinion. There is an ersatz version of this, however--an insidious sense of fatalistic habituation to the arms race, the acceptance of life in a nuclear weapons vault, behind a missile fence. The arms race is spiraling more and more forcefully, but it can and must be reversed, no matter how difficult that is. It must be, because it can burst out of the hands of man and pierce his very heart. Either man will end the arms race or their will be an "end" to the arms race, in which all the means of destruction born of it will go into play. Such an "end" would also mean the end of human civilization itself, however.

For an ever increasing number of people, and their name is legion, the sense of national security coincides with the real requirements for insuring this security in the nuclear age. The broadest of masses are coming to understand the simple fact that nuclear weapons can be used for making threats but cannot be used as a shield. The sites (or silos) for launching the missiles have a magnetic force which attracts missiles from the other side. The nuclear arrows become targets.

/There is no solid international security and there can be none, and therefore no national security as well, in the situation of a continuing arms race. This is the second fact of the nuclear age/.

Just as it is impossible to emerge victorious in a nuclear war, it is also impossible to win the arms race. The level of development achieved in the Soviet economy, science and technology offer no grounds whatsoever for counting on this. The imperialist world has been warned by nations of the socialist commonwealth that they will in no case permit it to achieve superiority over them. On the practical level this was confirmed by the fact that when it came down to deploying new American missiles in Western Europe, the USSR and other nations of the socialist commonwealth took effective responsive steps. Assuming this position has nothing in common with considerations of prestige, with threats or with inertial submission to the trend of intensifying the arms race.

The following parallel suggests itself. Elimination of the American monopoly on the atomic bomb was neither an indication that the Soviet Union does not love peace nor an attempt to threaten the USA, but a vital necessity in the most profound and precise sense of the word--for protecting the peaceful living conditions of the Soviet Union and for saving mankind from nuclear dictate. In exactly the same way, steps to prevent the achievement of American military superiority, designed for unleashing a nuclear war in Europe, leaving the USA outside the area of conflict, are equally of vital importance from the standpoint of the interests of all mankind.

Just as the Soviet Union proposed the banning of nuclear weapons, both before and after it had the atomic bomb, it is now constantly proposing that a halt be made before it is too late, that the process of the arms race be turned back, and continuing to defend proposals the realization of which would in no way infringe upon, but would only strengthen, the national security of all the European states--and not just the European states.

The CPSU, the Soviet state and the Soviet people conclude from the present world situation, on the one hand, that it is essential to tirelessly strengthen the national defense and the fighting strength of the Soviet armed forces and to maintain the greatest of vigilance, and on the other hand, to double and triple our efforts in the struggle for peace, the struggle to reduce the danger of nuclear catastrophe hanging over mankind.

Steps taken by the Soviet Union and other nations of the socialist commonwealth to strengthen their defense capability are steps to neutralize the danger of war. It would be best to reduce the armed opposition, of course, The Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states advocate this. The path of responsive measures is not their choice. It is a path forced upon them by the actions of the USA and its NATO allies. In the circumstances created toward the end of 1983, however, this is the only path which makes it possible to preserve the strategic military parity. And this parity objectively promotes the peaceful coexistence of the two opposing social systems. It serves as the main physical guarantee of imperialism's restraint, especially in the situation

of its increased aggressiveness along all lines. Steps taken by the socialist nations to strengthen their defense capability are held strictly within the bounds dictated by the actions of the NATO nations, that is, within the framework of preserving parity. In the current situation as well the Soviet Union is not striving for military superiority but is simply doing that which is absolutely essential to prevent the military parity from being destroyed. Furthermore, it has clearly stated that if the USA and the other NATO nations will demonstrate a willingness to return to the situation which existed before the American medium-range missiles began to be deployed in Europe, the Soviet Union will be prepared to do the same. The proposals previously made by the Soviet Union on the mutual limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe, as well as unilateral commitments made by the USSR in this area, would then once again take effect.

Washington is hedging--talking much about its own readiness for talks, which it itself torpedoed, while simultaneously accelerating the arms race. Even in the present situation Moscow firmly declares that peace can be strengthened and the security of peoples guaranteed not by building up and inventing more and more new types of weapons, but, on the contrary, by reducing existing armaments to incomparably lower levels.

#### Identical Security

Throughout the centuries the sense of "one's own" national security has frequently been in antagonistic conflict with the sense of national security of other peoples. This antagonism is broken down by the objective logic of the nuclear age, but it has not been destroyed in the political logic of the more aggressive circles, especially that of American imperialism. More than that, in their thinking and their usage the very concept of national security has been distorted, emasculated and totally reduced to a scheme for subordinating all peoples to their hegemonistic aspirations. This is adequately demonstrated by the fact that Washington's interventionist actions from the Persian Gulf to the Caribbean Basin are being justified--a mockery of common sense--as "concern" for the national security of the USA. And it would like to cloak its intention to endanger the security of states in the socialist commonwealth with claims of "concern" for the national security of its NATO allies.

For the developing nations the problem of security is especially foreshortened in the nuclear age. Militarily and economically, they are weaker than their imperialist enemies and therefore objectively and especially need to strengthen certain security systems on the basis of collective efforts by all the peace-loving states.

Even the most powerful states have an interest in assuring identical security in the nuclear age, however.

It is time for Washington, despite all the conflicts existing in relations between the USSR and the USA, to grasp the simple fact that not everything which is bad for one nation is good for another, that the Soviet people and the Americans have a common enemy today--the danger of war. In one of his speeches the



U.S. president said that he could not imagine a future "with great nations confronting each other with cocked weapons," with "no one knowing whether someone might pull the trigger." If R. Reagan were logical, he would respond on a practical level to the appeal coming out of Moscow during the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR: "to remove the fingers from the triggers and place the weapons on reliable safety catches." He is doing something entirely the opposite, however.

/The national security of other nations must not and cannot be infringed upon under the guise of securing one's own national security--this is the third fact of the nuclear age/. The Soviet Union's position in this matter is absolutely clear: It "does not intend to strengthen its own security at the expense of others, but wants equal security for all."<sup>8</sup>

The maxim that every action causes a reaction migrated from physics into policy. International policy in the contemporary situation, however, requires not just a reaction, but also a reciprocal action. The unilateral functioning of military-industrial capabilities is sufficient to maintain parity at an ascending level. Mutual political and diplomatic efforts are needed to reduce it, to reduce it to the very lowest level--and this is precisely what the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations are striving for.

International conflicts cannot be resolved with military force today, in our era. This is true on both the global and the regional level. And all the more, the national security of many, many nations cannot be infringed upon with unilateral measures to build up weaponry, justifying this as being in the interest of national security. This undermines trust in relations among states, without which it is not only impossible to find mutually acceptable solutions, but which also undermines their mutual search.

/At the same time, it is possible to secure lawful national interests on the basis of a reliable balance based not on additional unilateral armament, but on mutual curtailment of the arms race with scrupulous observance of the principle of equality and identical security--this is the fourth fact of the nuclear age/. The realization of this possibility would mean that the "balance of fear" would give way to a balance based on trust, trust which presupposes: confidence in material guarantees of security for all, that is, primarily strategic military parity; the nonexistence of attempts to achieve unilateral advantages or to inflict damage upon others; joint efforts aimed at assuring peace, with mutual respect for the lawful interests of all states.

In the contemporary situation the point of departure for this kind of trust is respect for the principle of equality and identical security, both in defense policy and in the field of diplomatic talks. This principle reflects objective requirements of the nuclear age with the current distribution of forces in the international arena.

Approximate parity of military forces, including nuclear forces, between NATO and the Warsaw Pact Organization has objectively assured European security, and continues to do so, and along with it, important prerequisites for preserving

international security. Parity has certainly not reduced to naught the role of the subjective factor, the significance of political will or the need for purposive action to develop international relations in the direction of peace. This is due to the fact that we continue to have not only the objective possibility of the outbreak of a thermonuclear conflict, but also the American administration's political force, which makes this danger real. In this situation the struggle for acknowledgment, respect and application of the principle of equality and identical security is the most important initial precondition for maintaining stability in international relations and the achievement of agreements in any talks on limiting the arms race. Conversely, the violation of this principle--whether it be unilateral acts to build up one's military capability or the advancement of demands deliberately unacceptable to the other party at the diplomatic table--undermines the very foundation for the talks, if they are regarded not as a propaganda tool for cloaking the arms race, but as an instrument of peace designed to restrain and halt the race with international agreements, to advance on the path of disarmament while maintaining identical security for all.

### Two Concepts of Talks

Different attitudes toward the principle of equality and identical security give rise to the two different approaches to talks.

Peace and certainty of one's security are needed equally by all nations and peoples. Talks are therefore equally necessary to all. They are needed for the reason, as stated in the 23 June 1981 Appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World," that "there is no reasonable method of resolving disputes today, no matter how acute and complex they are, other than talks."<sup>9</sup>

The CPSU's Peace Program for the 1980's states the Soviet Union's readiness to hold talks on all urgent problems of peace and security, to consider all constructive ideas from other states. Speaking at the Stockholm Conference on the Strengthening of Trust, Security and Disarmament in Europe, A.A. Gromyko stated: "The USSR has been and remains a convinced proponent of resolving urgent international problems at the negotiating table. This is our basic line for conducting international affairs. We are for serious talks, however, and not talks which would be used as a screen for concealing militaristic plans."<sup>10</sup>

The idea of talks has presently so powerfully captured the minds of millions of people concerned about the fate of the world and gained such strong positions in world public opinion that even its foes do not always dare to reject it. This is why the watershed ordinarily does not follow the simplified "pro" or "con" pattern with respect to the talks, but flows between the two concepts of talks. According to the concept defended by the Soviet Union, talks must be a means of actually resolving problems, that is, of achieving real results in the matter of disarmament, in the overcoming of crises and in the development of international cooperation. According to the concept which stems from the American administration's statements and actions, talks should not interfere with military preparations or should serve as a screen for such preparations.



During the initial period of the Reagan administration's government, the rejection of the negotiating tool as a method of settling conflicts was expressed in its crudest form. It was reflected in the concept of the so-called linkage of the beginning of talks to the conduct of the other side, that is, the Soviet Union. According to this concept, the American administration may express its agreement or nonagreement to engage in talks on definite and specific issues according to positions taken by the Soviet Union on totally different matters. In other words, it not only refused to begin disentangling the complex knot of complicated problems, but actually attempted to entangle other problems, which, in turn, needed to be untangled--and ordinarily from the other end, by other methods. In the meantime, so many controversies have accumulated in international life that if they are linked to one another, they will become even more tightly intertwined. They cannot be resolved all at once, in mutual dependency. Each of them requires separate and specific resolution.

The "linkage" concept is a concept of manipulating international public opinion and usurping the right to arbitrarily reject, break off or delay talks under any pretext, including a contrived pretext.

When the American administration entered into talks in Geneva with the Soviet Union on the limiting of nuclear weapons in Europe and the limiting and reduction of strategic weapons--not the least significant reason for which was pressure from the anti-war movement and West European public opinion--it employed a new tactic: the holding of talks just for the sake of talking, the advancement of deliberately unacceptable proposals, while simultaneously implementing its military programs. The very meaning of the talks was thereby emasculated, and the possibility of achieving any sort of results in them was reduced to naught. Behind this was the same approach of conducting policy "from a position of strength" as applicable to the problem of settling disputes. It was manifested in attempts to gain certain political or material advantages or superiority in that sphere which was the subject of the talks.

Formally, the matter could be stated something like this: The American military programs might not be implemented if the USSR agrees to American proposals aimed at the USSR's unilateral disarmament. Essentially, the Soviet Union was given the option: Either give us military superiority at the negotiating table or we shall strive to achieve it independently of the talks. Neither at the negotiating table nor away from it, however, is it possible to obtain from the Soviet Union that which would be detrimental to its security and the security of its allies. This position therefore in effect resulted in intensification of the arms race and therefore, the breaking off of talks, because the Soviet Union did not intend to participate in the deception of the world community.

An attempt to gain "trumps for bartering" at the negotiating table cannot contribute to the success of talks, since the other side has sufficient "trumps" of its own. The real meaning of talks is precisely that of preventing such "trump cards" as the threat of a preponderance of military force from entering the "game," in eliminating them from the practices of international relations.

The American administration crudely broke off talks on a number of important issues: the complete halting of nuclear tests, the banning and elimination of chemical weapons, the limiting of shipments and sales of conventional weapons, and the limiting of military activities in the Indian Ocean. It refused to even begin talks on many other issues, relative to which the socialist nations had put forth constructive initiatives.

Not just the production, but even the deployment of the medium-range missiles in Europe as well, are taking place according to "schedule." The time schedule for holding the talks, however, was cut in half even in comparison with that ostensibly proposed by a NATO "dual decision." The machinery of the talks produced no "yield," however--once again, through the fault of the USA. The "yield" could have been a reduction in the level of nuclear missiles in Europe. These two different kinds of processes--arms build-up and arms reduction--are incompatible. This is why appeals for the renewal of talks in the situation of "automatism" in the build-up of nuclear weapons are absolutely hypocritical and senseless. Only when accompanied by political detente can military detente lead to the establishment of universal peace.

The struggle over the two approaches to talks is a particular reflection of a broader confrontation of two lines in international policy: one aimed at strengthening international security and mutual respect for the real national security interests of both the USSR and the USA, and the other aimed at infringing upon the national security of the Soviet Union and its allies, and the undermining of international security.

The problem of security in the nuclear age can also not be separated from the reality of the existence of two opposing military-political alliances, which unite and divide the modern world's economically most powerful nations, in which the bulk of the world's weaponry is concentrated. Not the expansion of the two alliances and not the spread of their activity to new areas, but the overcoming of Europe's break-down into military-political groupings, the mitigation of their opposition, and the strengthening of trust in relations among all the European states--this has been the policy of the Warsaw Pact states from the first days of its existence to the present. NATO pursues a policy of opposition and bloc alliance. The most recent, important proposal issued by the defensive and political alliance of the seven socialist nations at its highest forum, convened in Prague in January of 1983, organically links the problem of reducing military confrontation with the problem of reducing political confrontation. It calls for the concluding of a mutual agreement not to use force and to maintain peaceful relations among the Warsaw Pact states and the states belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty. The USA and NATO have not invented any forceful argument against this initiative, but they have also not responded to it. Nonetheless, the very concept of concluding such an agreement is making its way into broad public and political circles, including those of the NATO nations. This is borne out, among other things, by a decision of the Bureau of the Socialist International at its meeting held at the end of November, 1983.

The achievement of specific agreements not to employ nuclear or conventional weapons, new or old means of mass destruction, in short, /rejecting the use of

force or the threat of force/ as an essential condition for maintaining security on the regional and the global scale--/this is the fifth fact of the nuclear age/.

#### Factors of War and Factors of Peace

"The reasonable conception of security at the end of the 20th century demands not the drawing up of strategic schedules for escalating armed conflicts, including nuclear conflicts, but vigorous action to prevent them from occurring" stated the Memorandum from the USSR, presented at the second Special Session of the UN General Assembly in 1982. "In the military area this involves steps to halt the arms race; in the legal-political respect it involves settling international conflicts and crises through talks and by strengthening the principle of rejecting force; and in the moral-political sense it primarily involves the rejection of any sort of nuclear war propaganda and saber-rattling at every flare-up of international tensions."<sup>11</sup>

This is the Soviet concept of security in the nuclear age. In this age--taking its harsh realities into account--the humanistic nature of the socialist world-outlook and policy is reflected in the concept's ever-increasing importance not only for achieving a truly humane life for millions and millions of people, but also for merely preserving the vital functioning and viability of mankind as such. In this age the internationalist ideology of the working class expresses the global interests of all mankind. Proletarian internationalism is not breaking with its fundamental social principle, but the significance of the working class' worldwide historical mission is being enriched with new substance and expanding. All of this is most completely expressed in the Communist philosophy of peace.

At the same time, the system of conceptions of factors insuring national security which has developed within the framework of the capitalist system is isolated from the task of preserving global security constitutes one of the striking contradictions of our time. It thereby undermines the very essence of national security also for those states whose governing circles hold to these concepts. In this sense as well the "awareness" lags behind the "reality," and imperialist foreign policy concepts lag behind the objective realities of the nuclear age and the existing balance of power in the world. The process of overcoming this conflict and bringing political awareness into conformity with the new international political reality, like any process of "reassessment of values" is certainly not a one-time and straightforward process. It is frequently a tortuous process and also involves reversals, as occurred with official American political thinking at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's. It is occurring, however, and is motivated by many different factors.

The simple intuition of the popular masses--their survival instinct, if you like--has to a great degree overtaken the stagnant logic of the armchair politicians and strategists, prisoners to the formulas of past eras, on the path to the realities of the nuclear age. This does not mean that reason has not played its role, of course. Based on their professional expertise, scientists, doctors and many military experts, including those of the NATO nations, not to speak of

officials in the workers' movement, served as an active factor in the shaping of man's attitude in the face of the problem posed by the nuclear age. This new attitude is now uniting people of various ideologies and diametrically opposed political positions on social issues. This unification has not set aside, and cannot set aside, the problem of the class struggle, of course. This struggle has taken on new substance, however, the system of political alliances has acquired extraordinary new range, and there is an objective merging--which will continue--of previously irreconcilable forces into a common channel--a worldwide demonstration against nuclear folly.

Before our eyes the socialist conception of international security is systematically merging with the general democratic concepts of security, with those public sentiments which were most graphically manifested in the scope and extent of the anti-war movement which enveloped the European nations, Japan and the United States of America so extensively.

"Security For All" is the title of a report presented by the Independent Disarmament and Security Commission chaired by Olof Palme, which was published in 1982 (Moscow, Progress Publishers). Public officials, political figures and statesmen of 17 nations in Europe, Asia and Africa, including Warsaw Pact and NATO, neutral and nonaligned states, helped to prepare it. In his preface to the report Commission Chairman O. Palme, who is now the prime minister of Sweden, wrote, among other things, that recent years "have been a period of recognition of the danger of war by the broad masses and political figures" (page 6), that "the grand, mass political awakening... has led to the emergence of a new community, one which is concerned with the fate of peace and security," and that "this mass feeling is already a considerable political force, which is affecting the development of events" (page 12). In 1983 leaders of the German Social Democrats began an independent search to produce a concept of security in the nuclear age--certainly not indisputable, but with what I consider to be many interesting points. Many essentially important ideas on this problem are contained in documents coming out of the Nonalignment Movement. All of this confirms the correctness of the assessment stated by K.U. Chernenko: "The danger of the imperialist policy of constantly whipping up tensions has become obvious. The greater the danger it creates for human civilization, the more active become the forces for man's self-preservation."<sup>12</sup>

One of the striking conflicts in the nuclear age is the confrontation between the gigantic mass destruction machine, control of which in the capitalist nations has been usurped by a small group of people, and the clearly expressed will of the millions-strong popular masses. It would seem that the arguments of force would surpass the force of arguments. It is not just a matter, and not so much a matter, of the ponderability of the intellectual and moral reasoning opposing the slide toward nuclear catastrophe, however. We are dealing with a situation in which an idea--the idea of preventing nuclear war--is becoming a material force as it takes over the masses. The popular masses are more and more extensively "introducing themselves," one might say, into foreign policy and influencing the positions held by the states. This is evidenced, among other things, also by the fact that at the 38th Session of the U.N. General Assembly the vast majority of delegations voted for the Declaration, which condemned nuclear

war resolutely, unconditionally, once and for all, as contrary to human conscience and reason. Only the U.S. delegation and those of a small group of its allies voted against the Declaration.

Politicians of the capitalist nations, considering the dangerous development of the international situation in the harsh realities of the nuclear age, have been drawn into this shift in public attitudes and in the mass public awareness with respect to war and peace and to the criteria of security.

They have not rid themselves of their class narrowness, of course. The exploiting class has not only short-range interests, however, but long-range interests as well. The class interests of many agents of capital dictates a pursuit of the profits of war. After all, not only can each new missile carry a "payload" but it can also immediately bring monetary revenues to someone in the capitalist nations. The class interest dictates a vague attempt to halt the inexorable process of revolutionary reforms in the world by one means or another. The same class interest, however, leads one to the realization that nuclear war will not be a profitable matter, to put it mildly. This shift in the mind of the governing class in the capitalist nations is occurring both as a result of pressure from the anti-war sentiments of the masses and as a result of adequately professional statements by scientific, technical and military experts, who are capable of serving not only the immediate, narrow interests of their class or of individual groups of that class (military business, for example), but also the more long-term interests. And the fact that this shift is growing is demonstrated both by resistance to Reagan's militaristic plans in the American Congress and by disagreements within his administration itself. And so, people not only in Western Europe, but also in the USA, are beginning to realize that nothing so threatens the national security of those nations as does Reagan's policy itself.

All of these diverse manifestations of class interest are oddly becoming interwoven or clashing in the foreign-policy thinking of governing circles in the capitalist nations. The struggle of these diverse trends will apparently fill the entire period of the 1980's. A great deal depends upon which of them gains the upper hand. Even it will not resolve the issue, however. The fate of the world will not be determined just by a struggle for the priorities of certain class interests of the financial oligarchy. The struggle will be determined to a crucial degree by the overall balance of political forces in the international arena, in which anti-war public attitudes and the public awareness of the masses are playing an ever-increasing role. They are not forcing the role of the political conduct of states into the background. They are giving new impetus and unprecedented vitality to that role. State policy, in turn, is made strong not only by the material might which stands behind it, but also by moral strength, the strength which expresses the interests of the minds and will of millions of simple people. These are precisely the qualities possessed by proposals on standards of relations among nuclear powers advanced in the speech delivered by K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on 2 March of this year. These proposals express in concentrated form that which has been brought out and achieved through much suffering by various social trends, and which

simultaneously serves as a powerful tool for shaping public opinion and affecting the entire world situation. The uniting of the foreign policy of the socialist states, which conforms to the interests of peoples, with the efforts of all other peace-loving nations and with the actions of extremely broad popular masses is capable of effecting a basic shift for the better in the development of the international situation. The activeness and initiative of all forces, without exception, speaking out against the global danger hovering over mankind and aware of the need for new ways to insure the security of peoples will have the decisive role.

The logic underlying the history of human civilization is such that when a vital task comes up, life also produces the means of accomplishing it. In the nuclear age there is no more vital a task than that of protecting life on Earth. Someone has said: "At the edge of a precipice some people look at the abyss, while others look for a bridge." This statement expresses well the present situation of all mankind. The more people see "the unpleasant truth" as they look into the abyss and the more they "think the unthinkable," the more vigorous becomes their search for rational solutions and ways to cross the abyss.

A nuclear war cannot be won, but peace can and must be won. This will be a victory, a victory for Man and his Reason.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. KOMMUNIST, No 18, 1983, p 3.
2. PRAVDA, 10 May 1965.
3. PRAVDA, 23 April 1981.
4. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 13, p 464.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., Vol 22, p 394.
7. V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 396.
8. PRAVDA, 3 March 1984.
9. PRAVDA, 24 June 1981.
10. PRAVDA, 15 January 1984.
11. "Sberech' mir, predotvratit' yadernuyu voynu" [To Preserve Peace and Prevent Nuclear War], Moscow, 1982, pp 33-34.
12. PRAVDA, 3 March 1984.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### 'SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE' STRESSED FOR U.S., UK, FRG WORKERS

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNYI MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 84 (signed to press 3 Apr 84) pp 44-56

[Article by N.V. Zagladin: "Nations of the West: Problems in the Development of the Workers' Movement"]

[Text] In recent years conservative, right-wing forces which reflect the interests of the most reactionary wing of the monopolistic bourgeoisie have come to power in a number of leading capitalist nations (the USA, Great Britain and the FRG). In the international arena they have taken a course of escalating the arms race. Reactionary trends have also gained ascendancy in the area of domestic policy. Specifically, they have manifested themselves in the traditional attempts in times of crisis to bring the economy out of its difficulties at the expense of the workers: by cutting social programs, closing down small and medium enterprises, increasing labor intensity without a corresponding increase in wages, attacking the rights of labor unions (limiting the right to strike, imposing disadvantageous collective agreements upon the workers or automatically extending them without taking inflation into account, and so forth). Similar steps are also being taken by the governing circles of other capitalist nations in which a shift to the right has occurred. To a certain degree France, Spain, Greece and a number of other states are exceptions. Even there, however, there is a trend to attack the workers' rights. In France, for example, they are manifested in the "economic austerity" policy introduced in the spring of 1983. At an FSP [French Socialist Party] congress in October of 1983 L. Jospin, its first secretary, stated that this policy is evoking discontent in the workers and is actually encroaching upon their interests.<sup>1</sup>

"Anti-crisis measures" in the capitalist nations were one of the causes of the growth of unemployment, unprecedented since the war, and a significant lagging of wages behind the inflation rate. The number of unemployed in the capitalist nations had reached 32.1 million by January of 1983, for example (compared with a figure of 17.9 million in 1980--itself an enormous number), including 12.5 million in the USA, 2.5 million in the FRG and 3.2 million in Great Britain. Real wages had dropped to the 1971 level in the USA in the first part of 1983, to the 1979 level in the FRG and to the 1976 level in Great Britain.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that reactionary forces are on the advance in many capitalist nations is not surprising. It graphically confirms the correctness and the vitality of V.I. Lenin's conclusion that imperialism's main political trend is toward

"reaction all along the line."<sup>3</sup> A study of the specific factors which have made it possible for reactionary forces to advance precisely in recent years is essential, however, in order to understand current trends in the development of the class struggle in the capitalist nations.

According to V.I. Lenin, the complete realization of imperialism's trend toward reaction is complicated by the fact that it is being countered to an increasing degree by democratic efforts of the masses "oppressed even more than before."<sup>4</sup> Obviously, the higher the level of organization of the workers' movement and the more powerful the traditions of struggling for democracy in the masses, the more frequently the monopolistic bourgeoisie is forced to disguise its attempts to gain total power over the society and to make partial concessions to the workers' demands. Furthermore, in the contemporary era imperialism's political leaders are ordinarily afraid to take actions which might "rock the boat" and evoke resistance on the part of the working class, which could develop into a form of mass political, revolutionary actions. As capitalism's general crisis intensifies, the prevention of a social revolution becomes increasingly more important for the monopolistic bourgeoisie.

Naturally, the bourgeoisie's ability to disguise the reactionary trends is determined to a great degree by the extent to which the political leaders who express its interests are cognizant of the danger of destroying social and political stability in the capitalist nations. According to a number of theoreticians of fraternal parties, and in the opinion of many Soviet scientists at the end of the 1970s the monopolistic bourgeoisie as a whole were aware of the risks created by the reactionary policy. The following statement was made, for example, at an international symposium on the subject "Capitalism on the Threshold of New Upheavals," conducted by the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA in 1980: "...The bourgeoisie cannot afford experiments which are too risky. The real possibility that such a course will accelerate the process of ideological maturation of the workers, thereby undermining once and for all the ability of capitalism's political system to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie, sometimes restrains the efforts of even the most zealous proponents of oligarchic power."<sup>5</sup>

The bourgeoisie's "common sense" is a relative thing, of course. When its property interests are affected (in a situation of economic crisis, for example) there is the possibility that a policy will be conducted which reflects only the current demands of certain of their most reactionary groupings. Even H. Kissinger has stated that the entrepreneurs "lack an understanding of long-term interests," that they seek only those solutions which produce direct dividends. In Kissinger's opinion the defenders of the workers' interests "are far more intelligent."<sup>6</sup>

On the basis of this generally sober assessment, it would seem we could conclude that reaction's advance in the capitalist world is due only to the assumption of power in a number of leading imperialist nations by politically near-sighted leaders, who are attempting to preserve a high level of profit for the monopolies in the situation of crisis developments "by training," as it were, the resources of capitalism's strength, and contributing to new breakthroughs in the chain of imperialism with their actions. The basis for such a conclusion can also be disputed, however.



In the first place, the strategy of strengthening capitalism's foundations certainly does not have to take the form of concessions to the workers' demands. The worsening of the capitalist society's general crisis has led to a situation at the beginning of the 1980s in which the machinery for the state-monopolistic regulation of the economy and redistribution of incomes, which permitted the bourgeoisie to partially alleviate the severity of social and economic antagonisms in previous decades, has lost its effectiveness. In such circumstances long-range attempts to save capitalism as a system involved rejecting the bankrupt neo-Keynesian formulas, as well as curtailment of the policy of social maneuvering.

In the second place, it is a well-known fact that the development of the workers' movement, which generally follows an ascending line, can also experience slumps and rises. The captains of the capitalist world no longer rely solely upon their own class instinct when assessing the strength of the resistance which the workers can offer to the reactionary policy. They employ the services of specialized centers for the study of public opinion, which makes it possible to select for attacking the gains of the working class, those periods of time in which the resistance may be minimal for various reasons.

In this respect one notices the inadequately effective resistance offered by the workers to the aggression of the reactionary forces in the contemporary situation. Statistics on the strike movement, for example, do not indicate any significant increase in the first part of the 1980s over the 1970s. Nor do we observe any significant growth of the size or influence of communist parties in the capitalist nations (with the exception of the communist parties of such nations as Portugal, Greece and others, which have significantly consolidated their positions in recent years).<sup>7</sup> The numerical strength of the labor unions has dropped in the USA (although this trend is not in evidence in the FRG or Great Britain).

The difficulty of understanding the causes of this situation lies in the fact that it is not only and not so much individual factors which effect the progression of the class struggle (such factors as changes in the professional makeup of the working class and its structure, for example, changes in the production process itself, the development of TNK [trans-national corporations], integration processes, improvement of the methods of affecting the minds of the workers, and so forth), or even the sum total of these factors. A complex system of interacting trends, frequently with different focuses, develops in real life, the influence of which (or more precisely, the resultant force of their effect) on the development of the workers' movement is frequently indirect: while producing corresponding changes in the awareness of the masses and in the attitude of the latter toward the existing social reality, they determine their social behavior. Furthermore, the very same factors can produce different reactions. Under certain conditions, for example, an increase in unemployment motivates the workers to take action to protect their interests, and in others it generates an attitude of hopelessness and apathy which lead to political passivity.

The changes occurring in the capitalist nations in the 1970s were contradictory. In our opinion, they essentially made it more difficult for the workers to

fight for their rights and interests in the purely economic area, and the traditional forms of struggle and organization began to lose their effectiveness. At the current stage in the development of the workers' movement the class struggle is being prevented from rising to a qualitatively new level by a large number of factors, of which a detailed discussion follows.

First of all, the structure of the working class has become more complex with the introduction of the achievements of the NTR [scientific and technical revolution] into the economy. Capital is exploiting to a rapidly increasing degree not just hired live, physical labor, but hired mental labor as well. This is expanding the limits for exploiting the society's labor potential and laying the foundation for creating extensive class alliances of the proletariat in the traditional branches of industry with workers not engaged in physical labor. Representative of the technical intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie, which are ruined in crisis, the middle urban strata and white-collar workers who subjectively do not identify with the working class and actually supplement its ranks, introduce into its consciousness the traditional prejudices and preconceptions of the "middle strata," particularly the distrust of communists and of socialist nations.

Then there is the fact that the growth of class self-awareness in the workers is hampered by the still-existing, extremely significant gap between the income levels for various groups of the working class. According to the American press, for example, members of the labor unions making up the AFL-CIO (metal-lurgy, motor vehicle, tire and petroleum processing industries, and especially enterprises in the military-industrial complex) are in a privileged position. Their incomes are an average of 40 percent higher than those of the majority of workers. In surveys they ordinarily list themselves as "middle class" and sometimes their incomes are indeed higher than those of many members of the petty bourgeoisie--owners of service stations and stores, and others who do not use hired workers). At the same time, the incomes of workers in the textile and food industries and in retail trade are 70-80 percent below the average.<sup>8</sup>

This income gap is extensively used by the bourgeoisie to keep the workers under their ideological and political influence. The idea that they have common interests with entrepreneurs of "their company" is imposed upon those groups of workers in a relatively privileged position. This objective is furthered, among other things, by the adoption of a system of participation by labor union members in production management at the lower levels. This practice, initially adopted in Japan and the FRG, has nothing in common with the desire of the workers to exercise real control over the decision-making process in the large companies, the establishment of which is being fought for by the representatives of progressive forces in the capitalist nations. The "worker participation" system is beginning to be used also in other capitalist nations, including the USA. Explaining its real meaning, the magazine BUSINESS WEEK, the organ of business circles in the USA, wrote the following, "Changes in the society have had a marked effect upon social character: It has become less intimidated and submissive, more self-assertive and critical of injustices. This is important proof of the fact that American industry needs to reorganize the system of incentives to bring them into conformity with the new production values. The people can no longer be returned to the system of production relations existing 80 years ago."<sup>9</sup>

In the form in which it is being adopted by the monopolistic bourgeoisie, the "participatory system" increases illusions relative to the nature of capitalism and disguises the nature of capitalist exploitation. Soviet scholar P. Gurevich has written that the "individual brought into a social system which distorts and mystifies all human bonds and relations can lose his real concept of 'who he is....' It is not surprising that data compiled by American researchers show that considerable segments of the bourgeois society consider themselves to be 'middle class,' although in reality they barely make ends meet."<sup>10</sup>

The struggle by low-income categories of workers for their social and economic rights is complicated by the fact that a considerable portion of them belong to national and ethnic minorities. In the USA, for example, the average income of a black worker ordinarily does not exceed 60 percent of the income of a white worker, and immigrants from the Latin American nations are also subjected to discrimination. According to official data for 1979, in general 11.4 percent of the population (every ninth family) lived below the poverty level in the USA, whereas 30.6 percent (almost every third family) was doomed to poverty among the black population, and 21.6 percent (every fifth family) among the Spanish-speaking Americans. The figure was only 8.7 percent (every twelfth family) for white workers. The burden of unemployment was distributed in approximately the same proportions.<sup>11</sup>

National and racial oppression in the USA gives the monopolies an additional tool for deriving super-profits and alienating the workers. D. Pittman, member of the U.S. Communist Party Central Committee, has stated that the number of victims of this oppression "amounts to almost one fifth of the entire population in the United States. The differences in wages, working and living conditions for colored and white Americans bring the monopolies billions of dollars in additional profits. The enormous army of cheaper workers without rights is simplifying capital's offensive against the social and economic rights of all workers."<sup>12</sup>

R. Reagan's Administration has increased taxes for the low-paid groups of the population and simultaneously reduced the funds allocated for social security. As a result, the average income of a U.S. family fell 3.5 percent in 1981, and the number of families officially acknowledged as living below the poverty level grew from 13.2 to 14 percent. J. Palmer, director of the "New Economic Priorities" program worked out for R. Reagan's Administration, believes that families with an average income will hold or even improve their position, while low-income families will find themselves in more difficult circumstances.<sup>13</sup> Essentially, this means that the nonprivileged groups of workers, who are less able to defend their interests, will be subjected to even greater exploitation.

It is important to bear in mind that protests by the low-income groups of workers in the USA were ordinarily of a racial or national nature, which monopolistic capital has learned to combat. Furthermore, increased competition in the labor market--a traditional factor splitting up the workers' movement--is permitting the bourgeoisie's ideologists in the USA to convince white workers that their main enemy is the worker with a different color of skin, who is prepared to perform the same job for less money. Workers of nations in the EEC are told

the same with respect to immigrant workers, who become "superfluous people" without rights at the first sign of a slump and serve as a sort of buffer in the class antagonisms between "their own" bourgeoisie and "their own" workers. The assertion was made at a seminar at the Higher School of Contemporary Research at Reading University in Great Britain, that appeals by the communists for solidarity with the immigrants "ignore the real strength of the mixed economy, which is solidly linked with the governing classes and with the political, trade union and cultural elite of Western Europe. In the contemporary situation we cannot expect skilled workers and engineers to exhibit that attitude of friendship and solidarity toward unskilled foreign workers which they do not exhibit even toward unskilled workers who are their fellow citizens."<sup>14</sup>

The changing professional makeup of the immigrant workers, on the one hand, and the accelerated, complete automation of production on the other, are becoming an additional factor contributing to the disunity. Even in the mid-1970s around 40 percent of the immigrant workers in the EEC nations were unskilled and 45 percent were little-skilled, and they received wages 20-40 percent below those of the nations' "own" workers.<sup>15</sup>

The "second generation" of immigrants are beginning to compete with workers of the nation to which they immigrate in the traditional areas of employment, however. Ultra-right, fascists and racist organizations (like the National Front in Great Britain) attempt to take advantage of this. The neofascist movement there has still not succeeded in creating a large-scale base for itself, but it still constitutes a considerable reserve for reaction.

Monopolistic capital in the USA also resorts to the exploitation of immigrant workers, although there is an extremely important specific feature involved: The bulk of the immigrants (according to a very approximate estimate the number varies from 6 to 12 million people) come to the USA from Latin America without official permits. This makes it possible to subject them to the most ruthless ultra-exploitation. Scholars from the Institute for the Study of Labor and Economic Crises in San Francisco state that the special attraction of using the labor of "illegal" immigrants for capital lies in the fact that they "are deprived of all legal and political rights and are therefore defenseless, and are basically isolated from the other groups of the working class and broken down into various national groups; they consist of individual workers who can easily be deported if "they cause trouble" or if their services are not needed; due to the historical traditions of colonialism and racism they can be subjected to humiliations socially unacceptable for all other strata of society; they produce and reproduce their work force at a far lower cost to capital (and to the state in the USA) both because the illegal immigrants are deprived of the right to social benefits accessible to other workers and because the families of the immigrants frequently remain in the homeland, where the cost of living is lower...."<sup>16</sup>

The policy of dividing the workers and social maneuvering is assuming especially large scope as the system of GMK [state monopoly capitalism] develops. The bourgeois state is the direct mediator of labor conflicts and legally establishes the status of national minorities and immigrants, ordinarily consolidating their unequal situation.

The experience of the 1950s and 1960s demonstrated that the development of GMK makes it difficult for the masses to recognize the real antagonisms in the capitalist society. Capital becomes depersonalized, and instead of the individual entrepreneur the working class faces impersonal, monopolistic associations controlled by leading groups of the financial oligarchy, by the bourgeois state and international monopolies. Furthermore, the workers frequently regard the state as an supra-class force capable of protecting their interests. The fact is that in the situation of the NTR the reproduction of the skilled work force on an increasing scale becomes such a social necessity that it forces the bourgeois state to take on most of the work of providing proper education, medical services and social security for the workers. The bourgeois state uses the means of redistributing the primary incomes of the population to accumulate considerable financial resources. The existing "tax squeeze" system, by means of which funds are extracted from blue-collar workers, the petty and middle bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and the working class, which are then redistributed through the budgets of central and local agencies of authority, permits the bourgeois state to satisfy the demands of the workers actually at their own expense, a fact far from always understood by them. Taxes account for an average of 25 to 50 percent of the national income in the capitalist nations, and direct taxes swallow up from one fourth to one third of the workers' income.<sup>17</sup>

Illusions of the state's supra-class nature are also intensified by the fact that its agencies, while acting as mediator for settling conflicts between labor unions and entrepreneurs, sometimes appear to be taking the side of the workers by striving for satisfaction of their demands for higher wages. This does not reduce the rates of exploitation, however, and consequently does not infringe upon the interests of the entrepreneurs. The growth in real wages is actually qualified by accelerated rates of inflation. Maintaining them at a high level (more than 10 percent annually in most capitalist nations) permits the bourgeoisie to compensate for forced concessions to the demands of the masses.

The conditions for the proletariat's class struggle become considerably more complicated as the process of capital's internationalization develops at accelerated rates. The TNK's--giant monopolistic associations--the creation of which has proceeded rapidly since the 1950s and 1960s, personify that process. By creating their branches in nations with a cheap work force and moving their orders there from the developed capitalist nations, the TNK's create direct competition among the various national groups of the working class, pitting against workers of the West, who have achieved a relatively high standard of living in the course of their class struggle, low-paid workers from the "periphery" of the capitalist world (the workers of South Korea and Taiwan against those of the USA, the FRG and Great Britain, for example). This creates a large group of new problems for the international workers' movement. As stated in a monograph prepared with the participation of G. Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the USA, and (Zh. Segi), veteran of the FKP, "...leaders of the MNK's multi-national corporations are still able to pit against each other individual groups of the working class employed in branches scattered throughout various nations of the world and to use existing conflicts among the workers to their own advantage."<sup>18</sup>



Examples of forced concessions by the TNK to the united international workers' front are in fact still isolated cases. The International Federation of Chemical Industry Workers forced the leadership of St. Gobain, a multinational corporation, to make concessions in 1969, and the (AKTsO), another multinational corporation, to do so in 1972.

The unrestrained expansion of the TNK's is bringing them into conflict with the state monopoly systems for controlling the economy in the capitalist nations. Under pressure from the TNK's attempts are being made to create a system of national state monopolistic control within the framework of imperialist integration. These systems are even more remote from the workers than the GMK systems. As they develop a situation arises in which individual groups of the working class are in direct confrontation not with the individual entrepreneur, as was the case in the past, and not with the bourgeois state, as occurs in the GMK situation, but with the entire, united strength of the capitalist system. According to the bourgeois theoreticians, integration is not just an economic tool, but also a political tool, for enslaving the masses. For example, D. Campbell, one of the people in charge of the U.S. Council on International Relations--that nation's most influential nongovernmental organization--believes that integration in Western Europe is "a means of coping with the communist problem," because "the community's institutions will not be overthrown by the communists: They constitute a means of restraining or absorbing a challenge from the latter."<sup>19</sup>

The social and economic conditions under which the class struggle is now taking place in the capitalist nations are extremely contradictory.

Let us take a look at the situation of the privileged group of the working class, for example. It creates the grounds for the development of illusions that their interests are the same as those of the entrepreneurs and can lead to a drop in social activeness, because at the current time the main material requirements of this portion of the employed are more or less satisfied. At the same time, a basis develops for their advancement of qualitatively new demands which cannot be satisfied within the framework of the capitalist system. Their material well-being is not stable in any case. It is undermined by inflation or even temporary loss of a job. The life of this kind of worker is determined by a play of natural and random forces, which he does not control, and his life and his situation depend upon slumps and rises in production, the situation in the world market and many other factors, the main one being the will, not under his control, of the entrepreneur or director of the concern, who runs the production process (or halts it) for the sake of deriving the greatest amount of profit. As a result the worker develops a lack of confidence in the future and dissatisfaction with himself and with the society. The force of the creative example of the nations of real socialism objectively assumes new scope in connection with this. V.A. Medvedev writes that "comparison of the people's lives in the capitalist and the socialist world, particularly on the basis of qualitative and not quantitative features, demonstrates the fundamental newness and profoundly humanistic nature of the socialist system. I speak of criteria and values which simply cannot be fitted into the framework of the bourgeois society, which are inaccessible in the conditions of that society."<sup>20</sup>

Let us take another example: the situation of the majority of workers. For them the struggle to satisfy day-to-day, directly economic needs continues to

be an urgent one. It is becoming increasingly difficult, however, to conduct the struggle in the situation of GMK, the depersonalization of capital and the intensification of competition in the labor market--on both the world scale and in the individual nations, among workers of various nationalities and races. On the one hand, this can create an attitude of social pessimism, a feeling that it is meaningless and pointless to struggle. On the other, it can provide motivation to seek new forms of struggle and organization measuring up to the existing conditions--by creating systems for coordinating the immediate actions and economic demands of the branches of workers of the individual trans-national corporation in the different nations, for example. It is also apparent that a successful struggle can only be carried out against the TNK system by political means. An effective response to the sabotaging of the workers' demands by the TNK, for example, is to apply political pressure on the appropriate government for the nationalization of branches of the specific international monopoly.

And so, the social and economic preconditions have developed for two alternative ways of developing the workers' movement. One way is to lower the intensity of the class struggle and submit the proletariat to the dictates of the monopoly and the bourgeois state. This is the path onto which the monopolistic bourgeoisie is nudging the workers' movement. It involves the transition to the stage of prolonged stagnation in the development of the capitalist system, if not its perpetuation. The other way involves raising the workers' movement as a whole to a qualitatively new level, from the standpoint of both the nature of the demands advanced by the workers and of the organizational forms and means of struggle. This is the alternative which is objectively consistent with the basic interests of the workers and the interests of social progress.

The development of such alternatives is apparently the natural thing in periods of great change in historical development, and they have repeatedly arisen for the workers' movement. The selection is not made on the basis of a volitional decision by a specific political leader. It depends upon a large number of factors, the greatest role being played by the development of the ideological and political struggle in the capitalist nations and the outcome of the struggle being waged by the forces of progress and reactionary forces for the minds of the masses. This fact is recognized by governing circles of the bourgeois states.

The results of public opinion surveys conducted in the 1970s clearly demonstrated a type of awareness which could be defined as transitional. The vast majority of the workers were dissatisfied with their situation, but the dissatisfaction did not have a precise social focus, and a clear understanding of the alternative to the existing system or a knowledge of ways to move toward that alternative had not yet become clearly defined in the mind of the masses. In that situation, back in the 1970s, the governing circles of the bourgeois states undertook a series of ideological and political maneuvers aimed at placing the political and ideological processes in the society at the service of the monopolistic bourgeoisie.

On the ideological level the functioning of the mass media was improved significantly. The focuses were shifted in the system for influencing the masses

ideologically. To some degree the system was adapted to the level of development of the workers' consciousness. Frank apologetics for capitalism and theories to the effect that there are prospects for its (development) into a post-industrial "technotronic" society were moved into the background. The cutting edge of the apologetic propaganda was concentrated in criticism of the achievements of real socialism and attempts to discredit the communist parties. In the mid-70s the bourgeois ideologists actually acknowledged indirectly the flaws of capitalism, but they also imposed upon the workers the idea that there is no alternative to the existing order, that any attempt to alter it will only worsen their situation.

First of all, the workers were intimidated by describing the horrors of a social revolution, which, they were told, would inevitably be accompanied by an orgy of violence and terror and would deprive them of the little which they possess. This was followed by crude attacks on the theory and practices of real socialism--like the "human rights" campaign. Well-known U.S. Sovietologist W. Kintner stated that the objective of these attacks was "to use criticism of the Soviet world system...to sow doubts about the value of the Marxist-Leninist program for satisfying man's needs and aspirations."<sup>21</sup>

A series of political maneuvers was simultaneously undertaken in the capitalist nations in the 1970s to weaken and undermine the influence of communist and workers' parties--the main force capable of instilling a revolutionary awareness in the masses, of turning their natural dissatisfaction into a purposive protest against the realities of capitalism.

On the one hand, governing circles of the USA and the NATO command applied open pressure with respect to the political selection made by the electors, frightening them with threats of repression against the nations concerned if they helped bring communists or alliances of leftist forces to power. On the other hand, a number of influential bourgeois theoreticians and political leaders made it clear that the objections of the USA and NATO to participation by communists in the governments of the West European nations would be lifted if the communist parties guaranteed that they would behave in an "exemplary" manner from the standpoint of the monopolistic bourgeoisie's interests. Specifically, they made "recommendations" such as rejecting the emphasizing of the historical role of the working class and the demands for nationalization of the TNK branches, and halting the criticism of U.S. military preparations. E. Papaioannou, general secretary of the AKEL (Cyprus Working People's Party), has stated that the anti-communists have attempted not just to weaken the influence of the communist movement, but actually "to make changes in the very nature of the communist parties."<sup>22</sup>

The bourgeoisie's ideological strategy was altered once again toward the end of the 1970s. The line involving the "taming" of the communist parties was discarded. The newspaper INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, the organ of ruling circles of the USA in Europe, has stated that "the idea that Western Europe's communist parties would take social democratic positions and gradually take part in the governments disappeared as rapidly as it arose at the end of the 1970s."<sup>23</sup> The reason for the change lay in the fact that experience had exposed the insolvency of attempts to prevent radicalization of the consciousness of



the masses with a "flexible" policy. The attitude of the dominant class in the bourgeois society toward social democracy also changed.

In general the social democratic parties continued to be regarded as an important factor for preventing revolutions and making it possible to restrain the dissatisfaction of the masses within limits acceptable to the bourgeoisie. J. Campbell has written that "it would be difficult to over estimate the importance of the socialists and the social democratic parties. Where there are demands for reform and shifts toward the left, the socialists parties play a crucial role in restraining the movement within the boundaries of the democratic system."<sup>24</sup> At the same time the bourgeois theoreticians have taken into account the fact that there has been a growth of dissatisfaction in the masses in those situations in which social reformists or liberal bourgeois parties inclined to use social democratic "formulas" in the area of social policy have been in power in many of the capitalist nations. According to information presented at a seminar at the University of Reading, the disappointment of the masses in the capitalist institutions has spread to the assessment of the performance of the social democrats. For example, sociological studies showed that in the 1970s only 3 percent of the workers in Great Britain and 23 percent of the workers in Sweden felt that the reformist policy had resulted in the establishment of social equality, and only 1 percent of the British workers and 20 percent of the Swedish workers attributed the improvement of their situation to the work of the social reformist parties (compared with 6 percent and 52 percent in the 1950s). It was the opinion of the seminar participants that there was a large likelihood that the social democrats "would either lose the support of the industrial workers or would find themselves under great pressure to adopt a radical policy going beyond the framework of the existing system of ownership and management."<sup>25</sup>

Fearing the masses, which could see from experience the limitation of the social reformist policy and were disillusioned with it, would go for the alternative offered them by the communist parties, the monopolistic bourgeoisie's ideologists supplemented their attacks on real socialism with their own "alternative," which conforms to the interests of large capital. It was advanced by the so-called new right or neoconservatives--the ideologists of those right-wing forces which have come to power in recent years in the USA, the FRG and Great Britain. Without rejecting anti-communism, the neoconservatives launched an ideological offensive against the positions of the social reformists and liberal bourgeois parties.

Bremen University professor P. Kalmbach [sic] writes that the right-wingers are attempting to convince the workers that the rejection of state intervention in the economy will increase the incentives for entrepreneurs to expand production, as a result of which unemployment will be reduced; that a reduction of outlays for social needs will make it possible to cut taxes for all the society's strata and will increase the real incomes of the working class; that social reforms will be detrimental to the workers, since the entrepreneurs will attempt to discharge those with poor health as a response to the introduction of a law requiring the payment of health benefits. As a response to the introduction of pregnancy and postnatal leave, the entrepreneurs have become reluctant to hire women. In response to the establishment of minimum wage laws the entrepreneurs are discharging those workers whose work they consider to be worth less than the minimum wage.<sup>26</sup>

This ideological line, which was reflected in the pre-election programs of right-wingers in the USA, Great Britain and the FRG, evoked a certain response in the masses, since the neoconservatives invoked cases from real life. The fact that the alternative offered by them was thoroughly unsound could not be recognized by the workers rapidly enough. The very system of social demagoguery employed by the "new right" hindered this realization. They invoked the concepts of abstract humanism and Christianity in an attempt to prove that unlike the "totalitarian" socialist nations, only "democratic capitalism" guaranteed their realization in the course of its development.

The "new right" attempt to turn the concepts by means of which the bourgeoisie fought the feudal reaction 2 centuries ago and which were progressive for that time against socialism, to substantiate capitalism's "right" to a long life in the eyes of the workers. This is what M. Novak, one of the leading ideologists of the "new right" in the USA, writes, as an example: The ideals which the system is supposed to serve, especially when these are abstract ideals, motivate each new generation to continue the work of their founders. The establishment of a humane social order is a task which cannot be accomplished by a single generation. It is a thousand-year path. Democratic capitalism has existed for barely 200 years. To understand its ideals is to be tireless in the situation of status quo and to desire something better in the future."<sup>27</sup>

Realizing that promises of "something better in the future" 800 years or so from now may not effect the social behavior of the masses, imperialism's strategists considered it expedient to reinforce the ideological offensive of the right-wing forces with a traditional device, by means of which the bourgeoisie consolidated the basis of its power back in the 19th century. A climate of fear of a "foreign threat," a military psychosis, was created in the leading capitalist nations. Screened by the myth of the "Soviet military threat," the conservative forces activated new devices for discrediting real socialism and its foreign policy, on the one hand, and attempted to divert the masses from the tasks involved in the class struggle, on the other. The paradoxical nature of the modern world, however, creates a situation in which the conditions of military hysteria may have a conflicting effect. They can in fact divert the attention of the masses away from current problems of the class struggle and prevent them from recognizing and accepting an alternative to capitalism. At the same time, however, the increased danger of the war in the nuclear age is pushing the masses into an active struggle against the militaristic policy threatening all mankind with destruction, which is in turn raising the level of their political activeness.

When we consider the bourgeoisie's ideological maneuvering in the contemporary situation, it is important to bear in mind the fact that its capacity for manipulating the minds of the masses is not unlimited. The positions of the communist and workers' parties, which have been reinforced in recent decades, have enlarged their possibilities for fighting for the masses.

At the beginning of the 1970s most of the communist parties became aware that the period of capitalism's relatively peaceful development is coming to an end, that it is necessary to move on from the building up of strength and the gradual gaining of new positions in local agencies of power and parliaments to new and more active forms of work. In view of the specific nature of the

contemporary forms of awareness, a number of communist parties advanced new programs in the struggle for socialism. Their goal was one of striking out from the positions achieved and taking advantage of the dissatisfaction of the masses with the existing institutions, combined with an unwillingness to engage in a determined struggle for socialism, to bring the workers to accept the democratic alternative. It was assumed that the struggle for anti-monopolistic reforms, which had still not gone beyond the framework of the capitalist society, would lead the masses to an awareness of the need to fight for socialism, and that the reforms themselves would open up the way to the implementation of socialist measures.

The search for new ways to fight for socialism was not a smooth process in all of the fraternal parties, by far. On the one hand, not all of their activists were imbued with an awareness of the need for such a search. On the other hand, the very idea of advancing programs which could only serve as a guide to action for the workers at the existing level of development of their awareness called for a certain "attunement" to the moods of the moment. They did not always succeed in combining the designated course with the observance of Marxist-Leninist principle. In a number of parties there were tendencies to tune in and adapt to those elements of the mass consciousness which were clearly a product of bourgeois ideological influence. This was especially graphically manifested in the matter of assessing the achievements and the historic role of real socialism.

It would still be premature to generalize the search for new ways of bringing the masses to fight for socialism. In general, however, there is the impression that the main masses of the workers in the capitalist nations continue to perceive the communist parties primarily as parties for fighting for socialism. The idea of the "democratic alternative" has still not led to an increase in the number of votes for communists in the elections. At the same time, attempts at "attunement" to the moods of the electors have apparently evoked a certain bewilderment and incomprehension in that group of the workers which had already established its place in the political mosaic of the bourgeois society.

The emergence of so-called new social movements was a fundamentally new phenomenon, which evoked a certain confusion in the bourgeoisie and its politicians and was not immediately appreciated by the communists. The movements fighting against militarism and for the preservation of peace seem to be the most powerful and influential of these. A typical feature of these movements is the fact that many of their participants belong to those strata of society which were politically passive until now. They are united round narrowly concrete demands, which generally do not undermine the underpinnings of capitalism but seriously affect the interests of monopolistic capital. Environmental protection measures under capitalism, for example, can be carried out with part of the profits from the monopolies. In this case the struggle assumes an anti-monopolistic nature. (Another version is also possible, whereby the bourgeois state assumes the required costs, but primarily at the expense of the rank-and-file tax payers.)

The emergence of "new social movements" is in principle a natural phenomenon. If a significant part of the population in the capitalist nations has lost

faith in the effectiveness of the capitalist system and in the bourgeois political parties but has still not come to accept the alternative to capitalism offered by the communists, which leads to socialism, then it would be logical to have movements reflecting the "transitional state" of the consciousness, which are not fighting for socialism but which reject certain realities of capitalism.

There are significant differences among the fraternal communist parties with respect to assessing the anti-capitalist potential of the "new social movements" and prospects for entering into alliances with them. Nor is the future of these movements completely clear. Will they become a factor in the bourgeois society's political life over the long range, or will these movements disintegrate as the current tasks put forth by their leaders are accomplished? There is presently no clear-cut answer to this question.

The anti-military movements, the demands of which were in direct conflict with the political course of the USA and its allies in the international arena, produced the greatest concern in the ruling circles of the imperialist powers. J. Hyland, U.S. President A. [sic] Ford's assistant secretary for national security, wrote the following: "The passivist movement, an echo of the 1950s, has burst forth anew in Europe. This movement was dangerous 25 years ago, but it is even more dangerous today."<sup>28</sup> This movement flared up in the USA at the end of 1981 and the beginning of 1982. According to surveys the number of Americans who consider the nuclear danger to be the main problem increased five-fold within 6 months.<sup>29</sup>

The right-wing, conservative circles in power in a number of NATO nations resorted to the traditional means by which capital reinforces its power. This was the passage of repressive laws making it possible to persecute participants in the anti-war protests, on the one hand, and on the other, the use of ideological means of disorienting the masses. The main objective pursued in this case was one of disorienting participants in the anti-militaristic movements relative to the source of the threat to peace and employing their potential for anti-Soviet and anti-communist purposes.

The communists' position with respect to the anti-militaristic movements is clearly formulated in an appeal to the peoples of the European nations for peace and disarmament, which was adopted at a Paris meeting of the communist and workers' parties of Europe in April of 1980. The fraternal parties are prepared for joint actions with any forces opposing the military threat, irrespective of differences of convictions in other matters.

In general the conflicting nature of the trends in contemporary capitalism's political development makes it difficult to determine absolutely the prospects for the development of the workers' movement. There are apparently three possibilities.

The first is a combination of the masses' dissatisfaction with their situation and their unwillingness to fight for the socialist alternative in a situation in which the social and economic conditions for struggling for the satisfaction of even day-to-day requirements have become more difficult. This possibility

promises a growth of political passivity and apathy and the weakening of the organized workers' movement, which in turn opens up the way to the establishment and consolidation of control by right-wing, reactionary forces for a long time.

The second possibility involves the preservation of transitional forms of awareness, the inclusion of "new social movements" as a long-term factor in the political life of the capitalist nations, and the emergence of a situation of a certain political instability and the alternating of right-wing, centrist and left-wing forces in power.

The third possibility involves the revolutionizing of the awareness of the masses and the enlargement of support for the communist parties, which will open up the way to a struggle for a democratic, anti-monopolistic alternative, and then for the socialist alternative.

The second possibility is obviously an interim alternative. Sooner or later it will be replaced by a different course of events.

The specific nature of the phase through which the developed nations are going is leading to a drastic intensification of the ideological struggle both in the capitalist world and in the international arena. The outcome of the struggle is to a significant degree that factor which will determine the selection of an alternative. Yu.V. Andropov stated in his speech at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that the current stage of development "is characterized by the confrontation, unprecedented since the war in intensity and severity, between two totally opposite world outlooks, two political courses--socialism and imperialism. And mankind's future depends to a significant degree upon the outcome of this ideological struggle."<sup>30</sup>

The world-wide nature of the development of the contemporary revolutionary process is reflected in all its clarity in the area of the ideological struggle. Prospects for the development of the workers' movement in the capitalist nations depend not just upon the social and economic processes occurring within individual states. The creative example of real socialism becomes increasingly important at times of development involving great changes, when the choice is being made for the decades immediately ahead. The amount of time required for the workers of the capitalist nations to begin rejecting capitalism and switching to an active struggle for social changes, which is what the foreign communists are striving for, will depend--and to an important degree--precisely upon how well the new system reveals its advantages and the degree to which these advantages are recognized by those workers and influence their awareness.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### PRC SOCIAL, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT EXAMINED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYIY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 84 (signed to press 3 Apr 84) pp 75-89

[Article by V.G. Gel'bras: "Social and Economic Aspects of National Construction in the PRC"]

[Text] A great deal of attention is given to the problems of national development in the PRC in the Marxist, and particularly Soviet, literature. It is therefore beneficial for the scientific community to become familiar with new information published in the PRC, as well as with debate in the Chinese press pertaining directly or indirectly to these problems. V.G. Gel'bras's article, which is published in the form of a discussion of the matter, analyzes the social and economic aspects of the process of building new foundations for social and national life in the PRC. The article contains a number of questions and tenets of a debatable nature, which apparently need to be further studied and specifically defined.

China, which has a population of almost a billion people, officially has another 55 nationalities and ethnic groups in addition to the Hans (Chinese). The Hans make up the largest group. According to the 1982 census the small ethnic groups together account for 67.2 million people, or 6.7 percent of the nation's population.<sup>1</sup> National minorities inhabit 50-60 percent of continental China, however.<sup>2</sup>

The shaping of the Chinese state's multinational composition has a history of thousands of years, which still awaits objective elucidation. For now, however, some Chinese writers are inclined to find in the past nothing but examples of unprecedented friendship of peoples, while others, on the contrary, stress the significance of wars, aggression and violence by the Hans against the smaller peoples and the struggle waged by the latter against the aggressors.<sup>3</sup>

In the PRC the national question is ordinarily limited to the consideration of relations between the Hans and the national minorities. Is such a limitation valid, however? In reality the matter is far greater than this. The fact that the process of forming the Hans into a single nation has not been completed is leaving a perceptible mark on all aspects and facets of the national question in the country.

Marxism-Leninism maintains with complete substantiation that a single nation is formed in the process of development of capitalist production. Where the Hans are concerned, however, some Chinese writers, rightly recalling the complexity and the length of the processes involved in the forming of the nation, will sometimes say that China apparently experienced a special type of historical development due to its many centuries of written history, its ancient and original culture. Two points of view are current among Chinese scholars today. According to one of them a nation is formed during the period of overlapping of the primitive communal system and the emergence of a class society. The proponents of this viewpoint maintain that this is precisely when the community of territory, economy, language, culture and so forth develops. Others insist that a nation is only a product of the development of capitalism,<sup>4</sup> that in China capitalism has only succeeded in taking the first steps in its development. The question needs to be further studied.

In China, beginning with the first attempts to create a single state, it has always been a force which has propagated a single language, a single literature and a single culture throughout its territory. For the proponents of this centralization policy the Hans have always been the personification of the national community which developed in deep antiquity.<sup>5</sup>

But let us return to the aforementioned points of view on the formation of a nation. Essentially, they are not so very far apart. In the first place there is no clear concept of "nation" in the Chinese language. The words "zu" and "minzu," which are translated into Russian--and not just into Russian--as "nation," have a broader meaning. They mean an ethnic community.<sup>6</sup> "Zu" means "nation," "nationality" and "ethnic group." This fact reflects the actual national thinking, of course. In the second place, the original ethnic community did in fact develop in fairly distant times, and there are many examples of this in the history of China. There are still ethnic communities in the nation, which arose within a specific territory on the basis of certain economic ties and have lived many centuries, almost unchanged, in a state of geographic isolation. In China the fact is not denied that when the PRC was founded in 1949 there were still some ethnic and national communities which retained the primitive communal structure, others were slave-owning communities and still others were feudal.<sup>7</sup>

Various concepts of the meaning of community of territory and economic life for a nation and for an ethnic formation constitute one of the largest watersheds separating proponents of the above points of view. And this indistinctness is also natural, since Chinese reality does not yet provide significant material bases for precisely defining these differences. Inadequate development of the socialization of labor, production and social life continues to hamper the understanding of the historical importance of these processes in the nation's development.

Language is living testimony to the degree of development of exchange and relationships within a specific territory. It is believed that the Hans speak six main and numerous minor dialects.<sup>8</sup> Several levels of verbal communication, as it were, have developed in the nation: local ("xian hua"--the "village" or "district language," which is known within a relatively small area), regional (this is what is ordinarily called a dialect) and super-regional (these include, as

an example, the dialects of Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou, which are spread over the territories of several provinces). Finally, there is the "putong hua," a generally accepted language established over the past 70 years as the common, standard conversational language throughout the nation. The nation has a common, hieroglyphic form of writing.

The uneven spread of dialects over the territory inhabited by the Hans is still due to a significant degree to the nation's geographic features--since ancient times mountain ranges and large water barriers have limited contact and exchange among the separate ethnic and social communities. Differences in the level of agricultural development, brought about in great part by the soil and climatic conditions of the regions and by the social organization, were the cause of major differences among them also in the degree of industrial development. On the state scale exchange, contacts and communication are to a significant degree irregular and sometimes unstable, and for this reason a common conversational language was not an urgent necessity in the daily life of the population. It is not surprising that attempts made for almost 70 years to establish "putong hua," which is based on the Beijing dialect, have not produced the result anticipated by its promoters.

Large-scale measures were implemented in the nation to establish "putong hua" in the daily life. Recently in China, however, people frequently talk about the ineffectiveness of all the steps which have been taken. The Sichuan resident today will say something like the following, a play on words: "Why do we need 'putong hua?' Almost 100 million people live in Sichuan. Do we not speak a common language then?" Chinese writers state that when specialists even from such large cities as Taiyuan, Kunming and Wuhan come together, they cannot work due to language differences.<sup>9</sup>

Subsistence or semi-subsistence farming still predominates in agriculture in the PRC, in which more than 80 percent of the nation's population is employed. This fact has not been disputed and has not been ignored in the PRC in recent years. One asks how more than 30 years of industrialization have affected the foundations of the people's economic life, including that of individual, regional ethnic Han communities. For the answer let us turn to the data for the individual provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities, which we have grouped together on the basis of certain criteria: geographic conditions, dissemination of Han regional and super-regional dialects over the nation's territory and the specific features of China's historical development.<sup>10</sup> It is impossible to achieve great precision in such a grouping, since the administrative boundaries do not coincide with the territorial boundaries of many dialects. There is no great need for it in this case, however, because the task is one of explaining the differences between large regions in the degree of industrial development and the nature of its influence upon the society's economic life (see Table 1). It is still necessary to make certain qualifications, however. The autonomous regions, which had come within the range of dissemination of the Hans long before the victory of the revolution, were ordinarily not removed from the sphere of functioning of the specific dialect. Two exceptions were made, however. In the first place, the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia was designated, whose assimilation by the Hans has proceeded extremely intensively over the past 30 years and, according to the plans, will continue in the years immediately ahead, and where, the Chinese press has repeatedly reported, major conflicts have

Table 1. Certain Main Indicators Describing the Development of the PRC's National and Ethnic Regions, 1981

Han dialect groups	Provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities	Percentage of nation's territory	Percentage of population	Gross per capita output (as percentage of national average)	Distribution of 221 impoverished counties (uyezd) among regions <sup>1</sup> (as percentage of total)
Northern dialect	Beijing, Tianjin, Hebei, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang	12	16	177	5
Northwestern dialect	Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia(Hui)	11	8	78	22
Southwestern dialect	Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou	14	16	47	31
Eastern Shandong dialect and those between Yangzi-Huanghe, Xiang, Gan rivers	Shandong, Henan, Anhui, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangxi	12	33	69	28
Wu dialects	Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang	2	11	224	2
Hakka, Yue, Min dialects	Guangdong, Fujian, Guangxi(Zhuang)	7	12	66	8
-	Tibet, Jinghai	24	0.6	44	-
-	Inner Mongolia	15	2	60	0.4
-	Xinjiang(Uygur)	2	1	61	3.6
-	For national autonomous units as a whole	62.5	11.6	39	-

[Footnote on following page.]

Footnote: 1. "Impoverished" refers to those counties in which the per capita income distributed among the production brigades was less than 50 yuans, that is, below the living wage, for 3 years in a row--1977-1979. There was a total of 221 such counties in the nation, almost 9.6 percent of the nation's total. A total of 87.9 million people, 11.2 percent of the rural population, lived in them. If we base our count on production brigades, the absolute and relative size of the impoverished population was larger: The average annual figure for the years 1977-1979 was 1,520,000 production brigades, 31.7 percent of the nation's total number (XINHUA YUEBAO, No 2, 1981, p 117).

Sources: ZHONGGUO TONGJI NIANJIAN, 1981, pp 25, 90, 210; ZHONGGUO BAIKE NIANJIAN, 1980, BEIJING-Shanghai, 1980, pp 62-114; XINHUA YUEBAO, No 2, 1981, pp 117-118.

arisen between between the local population and the Hans. Secondly, a special exception has been made: the Autonomous Region of Tibet and Jinghai Province, the major portion of whose territory is also inhabited by Tibetans, were combined. We did not succeed in obtaining information on any sort of economic integration processes involving the two. Furthermore, the average indices were considerably higher than for Tibet alone, due to a significantly higher level of development of the Jinghai urban economy. However, the combining of data for these large administrative units does make it possible to assess the economic and social conditions of the Tibetans' national development even if they were not separated within the borders of several national autonomous units.<sup>11</sup>

The data presented in Table 1 shows that the range of dissemination of the Shanghai dialect coincides with the most economically developed areas, and the national regions--especially Jinghai and Tibet--with the least developed areas.

It would probably not be a great exaggeration to state that in the social and economic respect the separate national economic communities are separated by entire eras of historical development. Several specific levels of development of industry and agriculture can be identified even among the Hans: The range of the Shanghai dialect is at the highest level; the provinces of the North and Northeast, where the Beijing dialect is the means of communication, are at a lower level; the provinces of the Northwest are even lower; these are followed by the provinces between the Yangzi and Huanghe rivers and those of South China; and finally, there are the provinces of the Southwest. Economically undeveloped or poorly developed regions occupy the largest part of the nation's territory.

The uneven economic and particularly, industrial, development of individual regions of the PRC is a historical phenomenon, of course. Slightly more than 30 years is too short a period for eliminating such a burdensome heritage from the past. Chinese statistics are not adequate for an analysis of the differences in rates of economic development for the individual regions, but they do show that the portion of the nation's industrial output accounted for by the old industrial centers remains practically unchanged.<sup>12</sup> The trend toward equalization of the levels of economic development for the various regions of the PRC is still taking shape and is not the dominant trend in the nation's economic development.



From any standpoint it is important that the uneven economic development, and especially industrial development, is not just being maintained, but is even being intensified to a certain degree.<sup>13</sup> For more than 30 years now this fact has influenced in different ways both the social and political and the national consolidation processes within the regions, and interrelations among the regions and between them and the central government. Malnutrition and famine, one of the nation's main social problems, is also less severe in the more industrially developed regions, in which the Beijing and Shanghai dialects dominate. Not a single county with incomes distributed in the production brigades below the living wage for 3 years in a row was registered during the years 1977-1979 in the agricultural zones of Beijing and Tianjin, in the provinces of Heilongjiang, Liaoning and Jilin or in the agricultural zone of Shanghai--that is, there were no impoverished counties there. At the same time the number of impoverished counties in the provinces of Henan, Hebei and Shandong during those years was similar to that found only in areas with poorly developed industry.<sup>14</sup>

A long-term policy of providing economic incentives for commercial grain production in 50 of the nation's counties (cities) was announced in 1983. They are located in eight provinces and contain 11 percent of their population and 15 percent of their cultivated land, but according to data for 1982 and partial data for 1981, they provided 22.7 percent of the commercial grain produced in those provinces,<sup>15</sup> which was more than 10 percent of all the state grain procurements. The distribution of these counties (cities) among the regions, which is one of the features of their agriculture, generally supplements the description of uneven development of individual regions and also demonstrates the fact that industry is far from universally in a position to exert a perceptible influence with respect to improving agriculture and reforming the foundations of the agrarian economy. These data cannot but attest to major differences in the economic processes occurring even in linguistically and ethnically homogeneous administrative districts (oblast).

The nation's industry is still little affecting the reformation of the Chinese society's economic life. For the nation as a whole rates of growth for heavy industry were almost 2.5-fold greater than rates of increase in freight turnover and more than 5-fold greater than rates of growth for rail freight traffic during the period 1952-1981, while industrial production and agricultural output increased at rates exceeding the growth rates for retail commodity turnover by 1.5-fold.<sup>16</sup> This means that economic ties among the nation's various regions developed more slowly than industry itself and the development of money-exchange relationships lagged behind production growth. The PRC's national income in 1980 was 5.2-fold greater than its income in 1952, but the population's consumption increased only 2-fold.<sup>17</sup> This is due to the fact that for 30 years industry was focusing primarily on its own expanded reproduction. Rates of growth for industrial production were approximately 7.3-fold greater than rates of increase for agricultural output during the period 1952-1981. Therefore, despite industrialization, it was primarily the processes of regional consolidation and not of China's overall consolidation which developed in the nation. And even the regional consolidation is still at the initial stage of development. In many areas it has still not managed to form provincial economic complexes, not to speak of inter-provincial complexes. In fact, if we compare the data from Tables 1 and 2 it is apparent in the first place that the regions in which the Han population

Table 2. Production and Exchange in Regions with Populations of Different National Composition, 1981

Percentage of national minorities in population	Provinces, auto- nomous regions, municipalities	Percentage of nation's population	Gross industrial and agricultural output		Retail commodity turn- over			
			Percent- age of na- tional pro- duction	Per capita production (yuans)	Percent- of na- tion's retail trade	Per capita commodity turnover	Percent- (yuans) of aver- age lev- el	
								Total
Less than 12	Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Shanxi, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Fujian, Jiangxi, Shandong, Henan, Shenxi	44	56	967	129	47	252	107
From 12 to 30	Inner Mongolia, Heilong-jiang, Hebei, Liaoning	14	18	940	125	17	288	122
From 30 to 50	Jilin, Hunan, Sichuan, Ningxia(Hui), Guangxi (Zhuang), Guangdong	28	16	429	57	25	212	90
More than 50	Hubei, Guizhou, Yunnan, Gansu, Jinghai, Xinjiang (Uygur), Tibet,	15	10	533	71	11	184	78
	Total for large adminis- trative units with national- minorities making up more 12 percent of population	56	44	584	78	53	224	95
	Total for national auton- omous units	12	7	427	57	9	191	81
	For nation as a whole	100	100	752	100	100	236	100

Compiled from Data in ZHONGGUO TONGJI NIANJIAN, 1981, Beijing, 1982, pp 10, 17, 19, 24, 25, 90, 270, 333.

comprises more than 88 percent of the population are not homogeneous with respect to economic development, although they do stand out sharply among the other regions. In the second place, with a general trend of inverse proportionate dependency of the region's level of economic development upon the portion of its population made up of national minorities, the economic life of the national autonomous units is strikingly distinguished by significantly lower production and exchange indicators. This means that the national and ethnic communities continue to differ markedly with respect to the economic and material working and living conditions of the population.

A direct dependency between the level of industrial development and the problem of malnutrition and famine cannot be found in all cases. This is a result not only of the aforementioned phenomena. There are numerous other factors, primarily differences in soil and climatic conditions, differences in technical and technological modes of production in the industry of the regions and finally, the policy of the central and local governments. In 1977 and 1978, for example, local authorities in the multinational provinces of Yunnan and Guizhou ignored a decision issued by the central government to exempt impoverished farms from the payment of taxes and from mandatory deliveries of agricultural products to the state. In 1979 30 percent of these farms were exempted from this burden, but in the other 70 percent only 150 kilograms of grain per capita was left to feed the peasants after paying the taxes and fulfilling assignments for deliveries,<sup>18</sup> that is, the peasants on those farms were doomed to malnutrition and famine.

And so, a common market has not been completely developed even among the Hans, a super-large ethnic community, nor do they have permanency, universality or totality of exchange, ties, economic or cultural intercourse.

Something else is also important. Totally different degrees of intensiveness of economic and any other kind of life are essential for the national consolidation of small, large and super-large ethnic communities (the Hans are unquestionably among the latter), or--and this is essentially the same thing--all else being equal, totally different historical periods are needed for the development of approximately identical intensiveness of exchange, ties and intercourse over the entire territory of habitation of small, large and super-large national and ethnic formations. Furthermore, the question of whether national consolidation processes of identical rates, forms and kinds are possible for national and ethnic communities of different sizes is also not a simple one--specifically, the question of whether a large, and especially a super-large, ethnic community can bypass the phase of national-regional consolidation. The enormous size of China's territory and the enormous absolute size of the population in individual regions (the population ranges from 50 million to 100 million in 7 of 29 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities, and from 20 to 50 million in 13<sup>19</sup>) unavoidably lengthen the process of forming unity of economic life even on the scale of those regions populated by the Hans.

V.I. Lenin wrote the following: "Just as man can only reach the elimination of classes through a transitional period of dictatorship of the oppressed class, he can likewise only reach the inevitable merging of nations through a transitional period of total liberation of all the oppressed nations, that is, their freedom of separation."<sup>20</sup> Analyzing this premise, R.I. Kosolapov stresses with

absolute justification the theoretical and practical political significance of this thought of V.I. Lenin's.<sup>21</sup> It is of especially great significance in countries where the liberation and self-determination of the oppressed nations was unable to come about prior to a victorious socialist revolution.

"The transitional period of total liberation of all oppressed nations" is distinguished by its length and its singularity. In fact, "the transitional period of dictatorship of the oppressed classes" is supposed to be the prerequisite, the condition, the basis and simultaneously the guarantee of "a transitional period of complete liberation of all the oppressed nations." The latter is far more extensive, complex and complete, however, since it requires the restructuring of the culture, the mentality, the traditions and underpinnings of the life of the nations and peoples. The former can be more or less easily defined with respect to time and space, while it is incomparably more difficult to do so with the latter. Even so, however, both the one and the other are lengthy, multi-level economic, social, political and cultural processes directed by a revolutionary proletarian party. Either of them can only be successful if an industrial working class, which unites the efforts of all the workers, leads a truly general creation of new foundations for the social and national life. What is to be done when there has been and could be no "pure" workers' movement in a nation due to a lack of development of capitalism, however? V.I. Lenin pointed out the special difficulties which arise for the revolutionary party and underscored the increased responsibility and importance of its work in such cases. The experience and the lessons of the CCP have totally confirmed the correctness of Lenin's predictions and warnings in every respect.

On the basis of a study of the process of social development and of national-state development in the USSR R.I. Kosolapov has concluded that the "transitional period of complete liberation of all the oppressed nations" is a lengthy one. With respect to the USSR, he has proposed linking its conclusion with the formation of a new historical, social and international community--"the Soviet people."<sup>22</sup> This is the result of a specific period of national-state development, the shaping of a single national economic complex and profound changes in all areas of life of peoples of the USSR--the formation of free and equal socialist nations and uniform, non-antagonistic social structures for all the country's nations and ethnic groups, with the working class performing the leading role. Naturally, a new historical community can only be formed by friendly working classes for which national distinctions in their midst are of no crucial importance.

"The transitional period of dictatorship of the oppressed class" began in China with the victory of the national democratic revolution and the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The nation gained independence and united into a single state. The agrarian reform and democratic reforms in the cities, which had already been launched in the liberated areas and which had made it possible to eliminate feudal remnants and pre-capitalist exploitive groups and segments of the population, were continued. The unification into cooperatives and socialist reforms were carried out in 1955 and 1956, during the course of which the small urban and rural producers were united into cooperatives and the early-capitalist and capitalist exploitative groups and segments of the population were deprived of ownership of the means of production. The Chinese

society's advance toward the building of socialism was retarded by the "great leap forward," the creation of the communes and then the "cultural revolution" and other events of the period 1965-1976, which is now referred to in China as the "decade of chaos."<sup>23</sup>

The social and political development of the PRC was greatly complicated also by the fact that the national question was permitted to be an independent, self-contained matter. In the 1950's the PRC refused to regard it as an integral part of the class question and the class struggle.<sup>24</sup> The interests of centralization and of the struggle for a united Han nation and for a united, multi-national community within a common state gained ascendancy in the party.

The 1954 Constitution of the PRC proclaimed the republic to be a unified state, which extended territorial autonomy to the national minorities. Similar principles are contained in the constitutions of 1975 and 1978. In the new fundamental law adopted in December of 1982 the PRC is proclaimed to be a unified multinational state, but only the Hans are granted the right to self-determination. The rejection of the principle of self-determination for nations had especially disastrous consequences in the 1960's and 1970's.

One cannot imagine that a new historical, social and international community of people--"the Chinese people"--can be formed without passing through the stage of formation and free development of nations. This process is based on the socialization of labor, production and public life. These processes will only be able to develop simultaneously and in parallel in a situation of total equality of all the national and ethnic communities.

The fact that not the historical boundaries of compact habitation of the national minorities, but the state's administrative division, was considered for creating the autonomous units in the PRC in many cases is of fundamental importance.<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, a step forward was made in the 1950's on the path toward "complete liberation of all the oppressed nations," since in the beginning the extension of territorial autonomy was inevitably accompanied by an increase in national self-awareness and certain advances in the development of the local economy and the original centuries-old culture. More was accomplished in many areas of public life during that period than was accomplished in the 1960's and 1970's together. The policy of discrimination against the minorities in the 1960's and 1970's, forced assimilation measures applied to them, massive repression, the suppression of religious freedoms, the rejection of the culture of minorities, the emasculation of the substance of territorial autonomy and the local implementation of social reforms and migration measures by edict<sup>26</sup>--these and other developments resulted not merely in the intensification of national dissension, distrust and prejudice, but sometimes also in the debasement of the social reforms themselves.<sup>27</sup>

It was stated at the 12th CCP Congress that socialism in the PRC "is now in the initial stage" and "there is still a mixed structure in the economy."<sup>28</sup> The society encountered numerous objective and subjective difficulties in the building of socialism. Even under the most favorable conditions the creation of what V.I. Lenin called "consummate socialism" in China will inevitably require a fairly lengthy period of time.<sup>29</sup>

"The transitional period of total liberation of all the oppressed nations" essentially still has to be started. The systematic correction of extremes and errors committed in the past and the elimination of the effects of suppression of entire peoples can only be the beginning. The massive rehabilitation of national cadres and representatives of the workers has been carried out and a "policy of indulgences" has been proclaimed in recent years (the tax burden has been reduced, procurement prices have been raised and state procurements of agricultural crops have been cut), which has permitted the population to "gain a respite, develop production and improve life."<sup>30</sup> Economic assistance for the national autonomous units has been increased.<sup>31</sup> The need to respect the right of national minorities to territorial autonomy has been declared once again. The CCP Central Committee has issued several decisions pertaining to the normalization of the situation in Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia and other regions. The territorial unity of the former autonomous region of Inner Mongolia, which was cut approximately in half during the years of the "cultural revolution," has been restored. The Xinhua Agency reported on 8 September 1982 that one more autonomous district (okrug) and eight autonomous counties were created between 1979 and 1982 and that the total number rose to 107 (5 autonomous regions, 30 autonomous districts and 72 autonomous counties). Freedom of faith and religion was proclaimed. A policy of a united national front, designed to unite all of the political and public forces, including religious and national leaders, and so forth, was proclaimed. The effects of the past have not been entirely eliminated, however.

The national disunion which has developed over a period of many years has not been eliminated, the major damage inflicted upon national relations in the 1960's and the first half of the 1970's has not been overcome, relapses into the policy of the period of "cultural revolution" are still going on, the current national policy of the CCP and the state are being sabotaged and undermined in some places, and great-Han chauvinism and local nationalism continue to be manifested.<sup>32</sup>

The main element in the Marxist-Leninist approach to the national question is the basic nonacceptance of any attempts to make it independent and self-contained, and its resolution on a class basis. The struggle for socialism is simultaneously a struggle for the realization of "complete democracy," as V.I. Lenin described it, and therefore for true equality of nations, which is only possible with the recognition of their right to self-determination, that is, to separation.<sup>33</sup> National fractionalization has never been the ideal of the communists. The communists have always consistently struggled for unity and international solidarity of the workers of all nations, demanding maximum sensitivity, caution and comradely compromise in everything affecting the national interests, sensitivities, hopes and aspirations, and taking into account the situation of large non-proletarian and semi-proletarian masses just awakened to the new life, but still following their own national leaders and not aware of the common nature of their social interests and those of the industrial proletariat.

In the PRC today many people are inclined to think that with the implementation of territorial autonomy and especially after social reforms have been carried out and the exploitative segments and groups of the population have been eliminated, the class question no longer has any bearing on the national question. At the 1st, expanded plenary session of the new membership of the State



Nationalities Affairs Committee, held in May and June of 1979, Yang Jingren, head of the committee, spoke out resolutely in this vein,<sup>34</sup> but he was corrected by Wulanfu, member of the Politburo of the CCP Central Committee, who called upon all the workers on the committee and local agencies of authority, especially in the national regions, to study Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the national question and to expose the recent "feudal-fascist, reactionary policy of national oppression."<sup>35</sup> He recalled a statement by V.I. Lenin from the work "Kriticheskiye zametki po natsional'nomu voprosu" [Critical Comments on the National Question]: "He who does not acknowledge and defend equality of nations and languages and does not combat every sort of national oppression and inequality is not a Marxist and not even a democrat."<sup>36</sup> He stressed the fact that any other approach "is incompatible with the title of member of the Communist Party." A year later, however, a special RENMIN RIBAO observer spoke out in an article written on the subject against acknowledging the class question as the essence of the national question.<sup>37</sup> In the process, however, the special observer did not analyze either the nature of territorial autonomy, which had isolated a number of national and ethnic communities, or the meaning of the party's strategy and tactics, which must invariably be of a class nature.

The selection of a strategy for national development remains one of the Chinese society's most vitally important problems. This strategy has to be of a precisely defined class nature. We can therefore in no way agree with the reasoning of the RENMIN RIBAO special observer, as an example, who maintains that the class question pertains to intra-national relations, while the national question has to do with relations among the nationalities.<sup>38</sup>

Relations among the nationalities are certainly not devoid of class substance. Rather the opposite: Quite often it turns out that the main battlefield for asserting the recognized interests of all the workers, systematically in the proletarian manner, as well as the ways, forms and methods of building socialism in a multinational state, lies precisely in this area. And this class substance is manifested not just in the political spheres, but also in the areas of production, economics, culture and art.

With respect to those debating national problems in China, their opinions diverged. Some of them did not consider it possible to reject the thesis that the "essence of the national question is a class question."<sup>39</sup>

The emotion in the articles by the RENMIN RIBAO special observer and many other Chinese writers was mainly focused on the condemnation of Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and the "ultra-left line" in the policy of those years, and on the exposure of the detrimental treatment of the class struggle as an absolute, which existed for a long time in both the theory and the practical work of the CCP.

The crude and mechanistic concept of the class struggle, with the slogans of which a policy of national oppression was conducted in the nation for an entire decade, caused enormous harm to the entire society and the entire cause of socialist development. Exposure of the "ultra-left" concepts was therefore of paramount importance. Their discussion could produce an even more effective result only with the revival and establishment of truly Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the class struggle, particularly the linkage between the class and national questions. Along with the rightful rejection of excesses, errors and crimes, however, and with the exposure of the theoretical and practical insolvency of the

policy of the recent past, certain Chinese writers began moving to the other extreme. While denying the inseparable linkage between the national and class questions, on the other hand they reached the point of rationalizing and justifying great-power and great-Han chauvinism. For example, an article by the RENMIN RIBAO special observer acknowledged the political inequality of the Hans and the national minorities, but he never once mentioned the necessity of making them equal. Jiang Ping, deputy chairman of the State Nationalities Affairs Committee of the CCP, writes the following: "Inequality of nations is the basis of the national question."<sup>40</sup> Some writers have begun frequently speaking of democracy, equality and brotherhood, but only a few of them have risen to systematic democratism, which absolutely demands complete equality of nations and languages and the real recognition of the rights of nations to self-determination.

Assessing the results of the CCP's more than 30 years of existence, Jiang Ping states that "relations among the nationalities" in the nation "have gradually developed into socialist national relations,"<sup>41</sup> as though the mere condemnation of past policy of many years is by itself capable of creating new social relations. A similar statement is contained in a RENMIN RIBAO editorial published on 5 November 1982. The aforementioned special observer for RENMIN RIBAO writes that "socialist relations of a multinational people of labor have developed" in the PRC.<sup>42</sup>

The RENMIN RIBAO special observer feels that one of the main points in the CCP's national policy is the implementation of national-territorial autonomy and the strengthening of "democratically equal solidarity and unity of nations."<sup>43</sup> Explaining the substance of this thesis, he proclaims the need for national "self-government," considering the main element in "self-government" to be its "national nature" ("minzu hua"). The author does not say a word about "zi zhu quan" (literally: "the authority of the master," independence, sovereignty), although at that same time many Chinese scholars and public figures were demanding that independence and sovereign rights be granted to the enterprises, communes and brigades. To a large extent these rights had already been granted to the economic organizations--by the decree on "socialist" competition, for example. Competition, however, even "socialist" competition, is disastrous for poorly developed regions, especially the regions of national minorities. As early as 6 April 1979 RENMIN RIBAO wrote that their economy and culture are still fairly backward or very backward and consequently, it would be difficult for the national minorities to achieve intensive development and rapidly catch up with or at least approach the level of the Han nation by relying on their own capabilities alone," and therefore the state "must provide enormous support and active assistance to the regions of the national minorities." This also means, however, that the imparting of a "national nature" to self-government can only produce an effect from the class positions of the industrial working class if it is supplemented with the creation of a flexible system of general-state economic relations, which take into account on a planned basis the political significance and consequences of the historically uneven development of individual parts of the nation. Unfortunately, the RENMIN RIBAO special observer does not consider this facet of life.

It is also noteworthy that the special observer of RENMIN RIBAO called for "isolation" and a ruthless struggle against "reactionary elements" in the non-Chinese

peoples, who are striving for "confrontation of nations and national dissension." At the same time he demanded that a different approach be taken to the Han chiefs working in the national regions, "conducting an erroneous policy" and making "certain erroneous statements," which are evoking protests in the local population: not a struggle, but indoctrinational measures. "Without additional study we simply cannot" regard them as individuals "inciting confrontation of nations and national dissension."<sup>44</sup>

The new Constitution of the PRC states the following: "All nationalities of the People's Republic of China are equal. The state guarantees the lawful rights and interests of all the national minorities, and protects and develops relations of equality, solidarity and mutual assistance."<sup>45</sup> But what does lawful mean? RENMIN RIBAO made the following statement in an editorial on the resolution of the national question in the draft Fundamental Law: "In our nation the national question is a question of strategic importance, which is linked with the unity of the homeland, the strengthening of the borders, stable solidarity and the four modernizations."<sup>46</sup> Is this not an attempt to seriously limit the "lawful" rights of the national minorities?

Some of the Chinese scholars feel that after the elimination of the exploitative segments and groups of the population, the uneven economic and cultural development of the Hans and the non-Han peoples is the main conflict in the national question.<sup>47</sup> The RENMIN RIBAO special observer concretizes this tenet. He writes that now and for "a very long historical period" the substance of the national question has consisted of the gradual elimination of "political, economic and cultural inequality of nations," of recognizing national differences and specific features and taking them into account, and of establishing "the proper handling of national conflicts and their resolution."<sup>48</sup> The author regards the elimination of actual inequality of national and ethnic communities as the "basic task in the national question during the period of socialism" and simultaneously sees in it "a part of the socialist modernization and development."

The formation and development of both a united Han nation and all of China's other nations and ethnic groups encounters specific processes in the production sphere. The experience of the USSR and other fraternal nations indicates that the formation, strengthening and development of collectivist, socialist principles in the society are objectively produced by a process of socialization of labor, production and public life, which produces intensification of intra-societal ties--production, economic, social and cultural--which create organic unity particularly in the society's economic life.

The socialization of labor, production and public life is gradually occurring also in the PRC, of course, but it is occurring under special conditions and taking special forms, which also foreordain specific consequences.

Among the special conditions we would have to mention first of all the simultaneous combination of enormous territories, a huge population, the extremely uneven development and backwardness of the productive forces, a combination unique in history. All attempts made in recent years to forcibly and artificially accelerate the socialization process, ignoring the need for certain material-technical, economic and cultural preconditions to mature, have met with complete failure.

This fact is not simply recognized in the PRC today, but certain political lessons have been derived from it for the current policy of the party and the state. The past did not simply go away without a trace, however. It sowed the seeds of bitterness, disappointment and dissatisfaction in the society.

It is frequently said in the PRC today that differences in the level of development of individual regions, comparable to many states of the world in area and population, are measured "in several centuries."<sup>49</sup> The regions of certain national minorities, for example, still have slash-and-burn agriculture, and the matriarchal system still retains important holds in public life. Despite the rapid rate of assimilation of the territories of non-Han peoples, the unevenness of economic, social and cultural, as well as political, development has not been reduced in recent years, but in a certain sense has even increased. The latter is especially acutely manifested in the society's social life.

One of China's important characteristics lies in the fact that historically diverse technical and technological means of production coexist in the nation: the manual means, based on the muscular energy of people and work animals; handicraft industry; factory and plant manufacture; large-scale flow production; and finally, the most modern means of production, which could be described as scientific-industrial.<sup>50</sup> The first three are the largest with respect to both number of workers and production volume.

Each of these technical and technological means of production constitutes the material foundation of fundamentally different historical degrees of socialization of labor, production and public life. The aphoristically precise idea of Marx on this matter, one which does not permit any diversity of interpretation, is well known: "The hand-operated mill gives us a society with a suzerain at its head, while the steam-driven mill gives a society headed by an industrial capitalist."<sup>51</sup>

It is also clear that in China's situation it is especially important and at the same time, unusually difficult, to find the optimal ways to uplift the productive forces and gradually convert the vast majority of the population from manual to higher technical and technological means of production. The resolution of this problem is certainly not a neutral factor with respect to the problem of the classes. On the contrary, only its resolution from the positions of the industrial proletariat can establish class and national relations in the nation based on consistently socialist principles.

For the past 20 years this problem has been resolved in a different manner. Factory and plant, line production and scientific-industrial technical and technological production methods aimed at expanded reproduction have been pushed forward to the maximum.<sup>52</sup> Growth rates were the only interest.<sup>53</sup> The equipment aging factor was forgotten practically entirely in the build-up of production volumes. Technical equipment, machinery and other equipment were dropped, as it were, from one level of technical and technological development to another, lower level.<sup>54</sup>

Different management systems--central and local--developed in the nation.<sup>55</sup> The central system, based on the more highly developed technical and technological production methods,<sup>56</sup> which operated with the society's resources and was

therefore not concerned with economic effectiveness for many years,<sup>57</sup> which grew in the interest of development per se and was exempted from the resolution of any sort of social or economic problems involved in the society's development, was nonetheless harnessed to the militaristic course.<sup>58</sup> Sooner or later it would find itself in the position of an overridden horse--and did just that toward the end of the 1970s--the only difference being that it could not be shot. Beginning in 1979 the CCP was forced to resort to a policy of "adjustment," of retreat, the time frame for which has been extended to 1985.

The local management system consists of a large number of self-contained little worlds, existing according to their own laws and almost independent of one another. It was a natural reaction to subsistence and semi-subsistence farming, left to the whims of fate but forced to give its vital fluids to the central management system. By usurping essential output and by reducing the workers' standard of living,<sup>59</sup> local authorities began creating their own industrial element, capable of contributing to simple reproduction and whenever possible, expanded reproduction, on more than 50,000 communes and in more than 2,000 counties. Typically, the development of the local management system reflects like a mirror also the unevenness of development of the nation's individual parts.

The existing statistical indicators cannot be used for making a detailed study of the central and local systems. The grouping given in Table 3 is based on data on the location of 381,500 industrial enterprises, including 185,500 enterprises of rural communes whose production volume is taken into account for computing data for the industry.<sup>60</sup> This grouping is sufficiently representative: It includes all industry in the central management system and most of the industry in the local system. The latter includes all local state industrial enterprises and some of the "collective ownership" enterprises. We were unable to group another part of the enterprises--the "brigade enterprises" (which included more than 540,000 nonsubsidized production units in 1981)--in this manner. Calculations were therefore performed in a different way: on the basis of fixed capital and net income of "commune and brigade enterprises."<sup>61</sup> In all, "commune and brigade industry" included more than 700,000 enterprises and almost 20 million workers (approximately 6 percent of the workforce in the rural areas) in 1980 and 1981. Its gross income exceeded 51 billion yuans in 1981, which was almost 26 percent of the gross income of the rural communes.<sup>62</sup> It was one of the most important material sources for both simple and expanded reproduction in the rural economy.

The data presented show that the ranges of dissemination of the Shanghai and Beijing dialects, once again, are the most highly developed technically and technologically. The largest and the technically and technologically most highly developed production operations are located precisely there. This is borne out by the fact that the portion accounted for by the regions in the gross industrial output significantly exceeds the specific portion of enterprises located within their territories. This fact is unequivocal proof that the average level of labor productivity there, as well as production effectiveness, are significantly above the average national level. The gap between these indicators tells us that there is a predominance of substantially backward operations in all the other regions, a fact supported by data on the average number of personnel at a single enterprise. Therefore, industrialization in the PRC is presently at a stage at





which living conditions for the branches and regions are not equalizing but are growing apart. The spread of industrialization is presently being accompanied by an enlargement in the sphere of manual, unskilled and low-skilled labor.

One's attention is drawn to the fact that the regions differ markedly with respect to degree of development of the state sector in industry. While the state sector in industry has grown in recent years in provinces of Northern, Northeastern and Northwestern China, its expansion would seem to have been restrained in the other regions. It is in South Central, Southern and Southwestern China that the local authorities have resorted especially extensively to "collective ownership" as a means of accelerating growth of the industrial element in the local management system. Until recently, however, the workers of "collective ownership" enterprises have differed substantially from "state" blue- and white-collar workers with respect to social and material circumstances.<sup>63</sup> In other words, industrialization and urbanization in the PRC are still based on the preservation and to a certain degree, the reinforcement, of differences in the way of life for different categories of workers. "Collective ownership" has become especially widespread in those areas in which the Shanghai and Guangdong dialects are dominant and where the people have a developed local culture. This fact attests to the intensive development of regional ethnic consolidation processes.

All of this provides adequate grounds for concluding that the PRC is still living through the initial stage in the formation of unified features of public life, that the best achievements of the national and ethnic cultures have not spread throughout the nation and that national language and spiritual barriers have not yet been eliminated.

We can also say that regional ethnic consolidation processes still predominate over state integration processes in the PRC. And both are least developed in the area of social relations.

The regions of the national minorities are in an especially difficult position. Representatives of the national minorities account for an insignificant portion of the total number of industrial workers and the intelligentsia. They also account for a small number and a small relative portion of the urban population, which in China's contemporary situation--due to the attachment of the population to the site of their permanent residence and work--continues to cut off the path to modern education, modern occupations and specialties for the non-Chinese peoples.

The Chinese press has reported that in 1979 alone the CCP Central Committee twice indicated the need for special directives from local authorities on the recruitment of workers and the selection of teachers and ganbu [cadres] from among members of the national minorities which have no urban population or one that is too small.<sup>64</sup> These instructions have begun to be followed. There are still numerous problems in this area, however. For example, the Kashgar Cotton Spinning Factory, the largest in Southern Xinjiang, which was started up in 1968, has more than 4,000 blue- and white-collar workers. A total of 60 percent of them are Hans, and according to an Urumqi radio report of 10 February 1982, most of them came from other provinces. The enterprise now faces the problem of training ganbu from among members of the local nationalities. Their number has increased from 10 to

100 people, but the factory party committee has had to simultaneously strive for "unity" of local cadres and Hans. The disastrous effects of the past are manifested literally at every step. It is worth noting that many specialists dealing with the distribution of production forces state that the lowest level is in the regions of the national minorities: in Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Guangxi, Ningxia and Tibet, as well as in Yunnan, Guizhou and Qinghai. They "could be called a 'third world' inside China"--this is the opinion of the specialists.<sup>65</sup>

Data describing the development of education and public health in the various regions are of interest in this respect (see Table 4). The data presented confirm the aforementioned trends in economic life, although they also contain what appears to be paradoxical information, at least at first glance. For example, the official statistics identify what appears to be a significantly higher level of development of education and public health in the areas of the national minorities--Tibet, Qinghai, Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia, and not in the regions where the Hans live. This is not the case, however. This fact is demonstrated by information from the PRC's State Statistical Administration on the national autonomous units, as well as by disconnected information on the separate regions. In Tibet, for example, only 1,800 of 4,300 hospital beds are in rural areas, which means that there are enormous differences between the medical services available for the Hans, who are concentrated mainly in the cities, and those provided for the Tibetans, the majority of whom live in rural areas.<sup>66</sup> And when we consider the fact that Tibet, Qinghai, Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia, where the Han population is to a considerable degree involved in military service or up to 1975, in the army's production and construction corps (this corps was reestablished in Xinjiang in 1982), and after that, in state farm regiments and plant regiments, it is clear that the high average figures for education and public health actually reflect only the level of medical services in the army and paramilitary formations, and not that of the region as a whole. Some of this also filters down to the population, of course. In 1980 military medics treated more than 14 million civilians, which is almost 1.5 percent of the total population.<sup>67</sup>

Data on the situation in the area of education also demonstrate large differences between the separate ethnic communities of Hans and the especially neglected state of education in the regions of the national minorities. In 1979 members of national minorities accounted for only 4.5 percent of the students at all types of educational institutions.<sup>68</sup> The portion had increased to 4.7 percent in 1980, including 3.7 percent in higher schools, 3.6 percent in secondary general education schools and 5.1 percent in elementary schools.<sup>69</sup> When we consider the fact that, according to the policy of the CCP and the state, the birth rate in the national regions is not restricted and that the non-Han peoples account for more than 6 percent of the population, the data cited show that the level of development of education for the national minorities is significantly lower than the average for the state. In the Ningxia(Hui) Autonomous Region 60 percent of the workers have not completed a first-stage secondary school, and 30 percent of the adult population is illiterate in Yunnan; 73 percent of the secondary school instructors do not have the proper education for their position; 13 national minorities do not have a single professional, educated specialist-manager,<sup>70</sup> and so forth.

The legacy of the 1960s and 1970s will retard development of the non-Han peoples also in this area for a long time to come. Only 450,000 of almost 12 million

Table 4. Development of Education and Public Health in the PRC's National and Ethnic Regions, 1981

Han dialect groups	Provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities	Number of students per 10,000 people			No. of beds	No. of medical personnel	No. of doctors
		At VUZ's	At secondary general education schools	At primary schools			
Northern dialect	Beijing, Tianjin, Hebei, Jilin, Heilongjiang,, Liaoning	22	621	1,367	2.8	4.2	1.7
Northwestern dialect	Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia(Hui)	16	533	1,532	2.3	3.3	1.5
Southwestern dialect	Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou	7.9	365	1,497	1.9	2.5	1.1
Eastern	Shandong, Henan,						
Shandong dialect and those between Yangzi-Huanghe, Xiang, Gan rivers	Anhui, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangxi	9.6	504	1,508	2.0	2.5	1.0
Wu dialects	Shanghai, Jiangsu Zhejiang	19	453	1,204	2.3	3.2	1.3
Hakka, Yue, Min dialects	Guangdong, Fujian						
-	Guangxi(Zhuang)	8.5	388	1,407	1.8	2.6	1.0
-	Tibet, Jinghai	1.2	371	1,292	3.0	4.2	2.1
-	Inner Mongolia	1.1	621	1,492	2.7	4.1	1.7
-	Xinjiang(Uygur)	1.2	624	1,543	4.7	4.8	1.8
	For national autonomous units as a whole	4.4	161	635	2.2	3.0	-

Source: ZHONGGUO TONGJI NIANJIAN, 1981, pp 25, 26, 90, 443, 470, 471.

of the nation's educational workers work in the regions where they live. Furthermore, many of these do not know the language of the national minorities, and the children they teach do not know Chinese. The Sinhua Agency reported on 18 July 1982 that instruction in the schools for the national minorities is simply "conducted in the national languages wherever possible." An adviser to the PRC's Academy of Social Sciences, who visited the area in which the Dai nationalities live in Yunnan Province, encountered "squalid, poorly equipped schools." He learned that between 1981 and March of 1982 2,000 boys between the ages of 7 and 14 years were removed from school and turned over to Buddhist monasteries.<sup>71</sup> The 1960s and 1970s also had a disastrous effect upon the nation's cultural life.

Cultural life in the PRC began to be gradually restored after 1979. The cultural, and particularly literary, life also began to be resurrected for the national minorities, but the extent of publishing activities in the languages of the national minorities is still meager. A total of 25,600 different books were published in the PRC in 1981, for example, including 4,000 textbooks, with a combined printing of 4.9 billion copies. This was something of a record in the history of the PRC.<sup>72</sup> A total of 20 of the nation's 214 publishing operations publish books in the languages of the national minorities. The Xinhua Agency reported on 26 July 1982, however, that that same year they published only 2,000 different books in 15 of the 55 national languages. It is always necessary to start small.

Professor Fei Xiaotong, well-known Chinese sociologist, recently wrote that the impoverishment of cultural life for the national minorities and the Hans is giving rise to the development of games of chance and other "evil crazes" and creating lack of spirituality, which is hampering progress.<sup>73</sup>

Resolution of the national question is not a simple or easy matter in any multinational state. It is especially difficult to follow a consistently proletarian line in resolving the problem in such nations as the PRC, where national and ethnic communities at different levels of historical development are expected to jointly build a new society free of exploitation, essentially bypassing the capitalist stage of development. The banner of national liberation has led the people in the struggle for the nation's independence and soared above the others in the war against imperialism and colonialism. Following the victory it has far from always been able to lead in the right direction, however. The lessons of the PRC demonstrate precisely this fact.

One of the most difficult tasks in the building of socialism in China is that of creating the new material and technical foundations for the society--large-scale, mechanized, industrial production. The experience of the PRC has shown that the reforming of social relations and the shaping of an organization for society, which would be capable of destroying its traditional, archaic institutions and patterns of life and of arousing creative initiative and incentive to create a new life in the broadest of popular masses occupies a special place among the other problems standing in the way of accomplishing the main economic task. The patriarchal system, clan and tribal remnants, the narrow horizons of subsistence farming and small-scale family production, and localistic tendencies--these and many other elements of the old world, frequently deliberately concealed beneath a cloak of national distinctiveness and national originality, penetrate into all segments of the society and all the spheres of its functioning, and create numerous obstacles on the path of progress. There have been numerous examples in history in which all hopes in this struggle against the old

were placed exclusively on the state, but the state alone was never once able to achieve victory. Only the popular masses themselves can destroy archaic social phenomena permeating the bulk of the popular masses. And this is impossible without free historical creativity on the part of all peoples and nations forming the specific society, without their total equality, trust in one another, comradely mutual assistance and cooperation. Such has been China's experience. And it is very good that China has recently begun recognizing this increasingly extensively and thoroughly.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. RENMIN RIBAO, 28 October 1982.
2. RENMIN RIBAO, 28 May 1979.
3. XIUYESHU YUEBAO, No 2, 1982; Quoted from XINHUA WENZHAI, No 5, 1982, p 89.
4. Ibid., p 88.
5. This viewpoint has some supporters even today. Wang Lei, for example, believes that the most commonly used definition of nation in Marxist literature is only valid for Europe. With respect to the Hans, they developed into a nation during the Tsin and Han dynasties during the period 246-140 B.C. (ZHONGGUO SHEHOI KEXUE, No 5, 1982, pp 143-158). For greater detail read L.S. Perelomov, S.N. Goncharov and A.V. Nikogosov, "The Great-Han Essence of the Concept 'Age-Old, Unified Multinational China'," PROBLEMY DAL'NEGO VOSTOKA, No 4, 1981, pp 41-55.
6. XIANDAI HANYU CIDIAN: Beijing, shangwu yinshuguan, 1979, pp 783, 1530; XINHUA WENZHAI, No 12, 1982, pp 12, 13.
7. XINHUA YUEBAO, No 4, 1982, p 60; XINUA WENZHAI, No 4, 1983, p 13.
8. M.V. Sofronov, "Kitayskiy yazyk i kitayskoye obshchestvo" [The Chinese Language and the Chinese Society], Moscow, 1979, p 118.
9. RENMIN RIBAO, 31 March 1982.
10. From this point on the grouping of large administrative units according to the regional-linguistic criterion will be based on information derived from M.V. Sofronov's studies (op. cit., pp 49-50).
11. There are five autonomous Tibetan administrative districts and one Tibetan-Kazakh autonomous administrative district in Qinghai Province (ZHONGGUO BAIKE NIANJIAN, Beijing-Shanghai, 1980, p 82).
12. For greater detail read "Robochiy klass v sotsial'no-politicheskoy sisteme KNR" [The Working Class in the Social and Political System of the PRC], Moscow, 1981, pp 41-42.
13. This is borne out, among other things, by the fact that the gap between the income levels for the urban and the rural populations has been increasing for a quarter of a century. While their income ratio was 6.6:1 in 1952, it had increased to 7.7:1 in 1978. The portion of the total retail trade in consumer goods accounted for by the rural area fell from 58 percent in 1949 to 42 percent in 1978 (JINGJI LILUN YU JINGJI GUANGLI, No 2, 1982, p 35).
14. XINHUA YUEBAO, No 2, 1981, p 117.

15. BANYUE TAN, No 10, 1983, p 27.
16. ZHONGGUO TONGZI NIANJIAN, 1981, Beijing, 1982, pp 5, 8, 210, 330.
17. FUDAN XUEBAO, No 2, 1982, p 35.
18. XINHUA YUEBAO, No 2, 1981, p 119.
19. RENMIN RIBAO, 28 October 1982.
20. V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 27, p 256.
21. R.I. Kosolapov, "Klassovyye i natsional'nyye otnosheniya na etape razvitiya sotsializma" [Class and National Relations at the Stage of Developed Socialism], Riga, 1982, pp 8-10.
22. Ibid., p 10.
23. "Zhongguo gongchandang zhongyang weiyuanhu guanyu jian guo yilai dangyu ruogan lishi wentidy jiuwei" (CCP Central Committee Decision "On Certain Questions of Party History Since the Founding of the PRC," adopted at the 3rd Plenum of the CCP Central Committee, 11th convocation, 27 June 1981), Beijing, 1981, pp 19-20, 22-25.
24. The 6th CCP Congress in 1928 formulated the third point in the program of action in the following manner: "The Unification of China and Recognition of the Right to National Self-Determination." The Constitution adopted by the Chinese Soviet Republic in 1931 proclaimed the following: "Soviet power in China recognizes the right to self-determination for the non-Chinese nationalities in China and their right to separate and form independent states" (PROBLEMY KITAYA, No 13, 1934, p 120).
25. See also A.M. Reshetov, "The Ethnic Makeup of the PRC's Population" in PROBLEMY DAL'NEGO VOSTOKA, No 3, 1982, pp 111-115.
26. For a more detailed discussion read, as an example, RENMIN RIBAO, 15 July and 23 June 1980.
27. For example, according to a report by the Xinhua Agency on 22 June 1980, in the summer of 1980 the party committee of the Tibetan Autonomous Region adopted a decision on the rehabilitation of the former "peasant serfs," who in 1970--that is, during the "cultural revolution"--were listed as "kulaks, kulak-livestock farmers, landowners, livestock owners or their agents." The party committee also acknowledged that "prior to the democratic reform of 1959" there existed in Tibet "a society of feudal serfdom, in which there were no kulak farms or kulaks as a class."
28. Hu Yaobang, "Quanmian kaichuang shehuizhuyi xiandaihua jianshedy xin jumian" ("Create a New Situation on all the Fronts of Socialistic Modernization"--Accountability Report to the 12th CCP Congress), Beijing, 1982, pp 23, 24, 28.
29. V.I. Lenin "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 36, p 65.
30. BANYUE TAN, No 8, 1982, p 6..
31. RENMIN RIBAO stated on 6 April 1979 that as a result of the policy of 1966-1976, including the cutting of state allocations to the national autonomous



units by one third, the actual inequality between the Han and the non-Han regions was not only not reduced, but "in some respects became even more striking than in the past," in some of them there was a drop in grain production and in the total livestock herd, which resulted in a lowering of the standard of living of the population. The economic situation of the national autonomous units had improved in recent years, but the gap in the economic development of certain regions continued to increase. The portion of the nation's gross industrial and agricultural output accounted for by the national autonomous units dropped from 6.5 percent in 1978 to 6 percent in 1981, including a drop from 5 to 4.5 percent of gross industrial output (ZHONGGUO TONGJI NIANJIAN, 1981, pp 17, 25.).

32. BANYUE TAN, No 8, 1982, p 6; RENMIN RIBAO, 5 June 1982.
33. V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 27, p 253.
34. RENMIN RIBAO, 28 May 1979.
35. RENMIN RIBAO, 5 June 1979.
36. V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 24, p 125.
37. RENMIN RIBAO, 15 July 1980. The importance of the article is indicated by the fact that it was reprinted in XINHUA YUEBAO, No 4, 1982, pp 58-62.
38. XINHUA YUEBAO, No 4, 1982, p 58.
39. XINHUA WENZHAI, No 5, 1982, pp 68-69.
40. BANYUE TAN, No 8, 1982, p 7.
41. Ibid., p 5.
42. XINHUA YUEBAO, No 4, 1982, p 60.
43. Ibid., p 58.
44. XINHUA YUEBAO, No 4, 1982, p 61.
45. XINHUA YUEBAO, No 12, 1982, p 7.
46. RENMIN RIBAO, 5 July 1982.
47. XINHUA WENZHAI, No 5, 1982, p 88.
48. XINHUA YUEBAO, No 4, 1982, pp 60-61.
49. Read, for example, GONGREN RIBAO, 23 July 1980.
50. The analysis is based on the work performed on the problem by Yu.A. Vasil'chuk and Yu.V. Yaremenko. For a more detailed discussion read: Yu.A. Vasil'chuk, "Nauchno-tehnicheskaya revolyutsiya i rabochiy klass pri kapitalizme" [The Scientific and Technical Revolution Under Capitalism], Moscow, 1980; Yu.V. Yaremenko, "Strukturnyye izmeneniya v sotsialisticheskoy ekonomike" [Structural Changes in the Socialist Economy], Moscow, 1981.
51. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 133.
52. In a nation in which 80 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture heavy industry accounted for more than 42 percent of the gross industrial and agricultural output in 1978 and 1979 (ZHONGGUO TONGJI NIANJIAN, 1981, p 18). For greater detail read, for example, HONGJI, No 12, 1979, pp 5-10.

53. The policy of blind pursuit of growth rates was condemned during the second half of 1979. Read, for example, RENMIN RIBAO, 17 July 1979.
54. According to data compiled by Long Yongjie, worker at the Central Party School, for example, from the standpoint of technical level approximately 20 percent of China's functioning machine equipment conforms to the equipment and technological level of the 1960s and 1970s, another 20-25 percent measures up to the level of the 1950s and 1960s, and 55-60 percent of the operating equipment is even further behind with respect to technical data, including 35 percent which is totally obsolete (JINGJI WENTI, No 6, 1982, p 18).
55. We formulated this conclusion in 1974 (MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No 9, 1974, pp 76-77). Many Chinese economists now agree with us. Read, for example, JINGJI YANJIU, No 11, 1978, p 57; LIAONING DAXUE, XUEBAO, No 3, 1980, p 38; XIUYESHU YUEKANG, No 5, 1980, pp 7-8.
56. Feng Haohua, a Chinese specialist on the distribution of productive forces, even introduced into circulation the term "central" and "local productive forces" (JINGJI LILUN YU JINGJI GUANLI, No 2, 1982, p 19).
57. Hu Jiaomu, member of the Politburo of the CCP Central Committee, wrote the following: "There was absolutely no calculation of outlays of live labor or monitoring of such outlays, and records on the use of live labor or the monitoring of such did not exist for a long time at many enterprises... it reached the point at which they could not say how much had been produced or how much net profit had been earned" (RENMIN RIBAO, 6 October 1979).
58. Chinese economist Liu Suinian, for example: since the period of the "cultural revolution, and especially since 1970, when the concept of preparing for war was moved to the fore, capital investments in military-related industry has increased considerably. Up to one third of certain types of equipment has gone into this branch (XINHUA YUEBAO, No 5/17, 1980, p 16). The CHINA DAILY, which is published in Beijing, reported on 17 February 1982 that production in military-related industry reached an "unprecedented level" in 1981. With an overall increase of 5 percent over the 1981 level in industrial output, output in military-related industry rose by 20.9 percent (RENMIN RIBAO, 30 April 1983, and JIEFANG RIBAO, 9 January 1983). Output produced by military-related industry for civilian use accounted for an insignificant portion of China's gross industrial output in 1981 (RENMIN RIBAO, 30 March 1983, and CHINA DAILY, 17 March 1982).
59. The practice whereby local agencies of authority took material, financial and human resources from the rural production brigades without recompense, the introduction of various kinds of requisitions, and so forth, were condemned by the CCP Central Committee in 1978 (RENMIN RIBAO, 5 July and 3 August 1978). The local authorities have not rejected this policy, however. A campaign to reduce the excessive burden on the peasants was begun in 1983 (read, for example, RENMIN RIBAO, 28 March and 11 July 1983).
60. ZHONGGUO TONGJI NIANJIAN, 1981, pp 203, 210. See also pp 496-497.
61. Ibid., p 193.
62. Ibid., pp 105, 189, 190, 194.

63. For greater detail read "Rabochiy klass v sotsial'no-politicheskoy sisteme Kitaya," pp 23-24, 60-69 and others. The Constitution of the PRC, which proclaims equality for all blue- and white-collar workers, and the "Temporary Statute on Certain Questions of Policy Toward the Collective Ownership Economy in the Cities and Villages," adopted by the State Council of the PRC (RENMIN RIBAO, 7 May 1983), created the basis for altering the situation which has developed.
64. RENMIN RIBAO, 1 January 1980.
65. JINGJI WENTI, No 6, 1982, p 34.
66. ZHONGGUO BAIKE NIANJIAN, 1980, p 115.
67. Ibid., p 254.
68. ZHONGGUO JINGJI NIANJIAN, 1981, pp IV-204.
69. Ibid., pp IV-206; RENMIN RIBAO, 30 April 1981.
70. RENMIN RIBAO, 29 March 1983.
71. WENHUEI BAO, 2 August 1982.
72. GUANGMING, 12 June 1982.
73. DUSHU, No 12, 1982, p 7.

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## INTERNATIONAL

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## INTERNATIONAL

### PENTAGON INTEREST IN PARAPSYCHOLOGY HIT

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 84 p 3

[Article By Gennadiy Ariyevich of the Novosti Press Agency: "'Extrasensories' from the Pentagon"]

[Text] Recently, the newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES published an article under the intriguing caption, "Pentagon: Use of Extrasensory Capabilities for Military Purposes."

"According to new information," the article read, "the U.S. Defense Department has spent millions of dollars on secret projects for the purpose of investigating the phenomenon of extrasensory perception and examining whether it might not be possible to use the human psyche to perform various acts of espionage and war, to penetrate secret files, for example, to establish the location of submarines or to explode guided missiles in flight.

"From this information it follows that the military is experimenting with mastering such complex phenomena as extrasensory (super-sensory--G. A.) perception, telepathy (thought transmission over distances), clairvoyance (seeing what is not visible to the eyes), telekinesis (psychological influence on objects or events)...."

At first there was some doubt as to whether or not this reputable American newspaper was writing seriously about this. Or was this the usual attempt to titillate the population with a new sensation. But, reading further into the article, you begin to understand where THE NEW YORK TIMES is headed.

However, first the essence of the problem. For more than a hundred years scientific, not quite scientific and definitely unscientific arguments have waged over what has come to be called parapsychology. Indeed, the faith of people in miracles, particularly in the possibility of miraculous healing from ailments which have wasted man is ineradicable. This belief has always fed different kinds of visionaries, and simple charlatans and mystifiers as well. And now it seems to some (obviously, who already want to believe it), that unusual and marvelous capabilities "have been revealed" to those who have come to be called extrasensories, and that finally, the sought after



panacea for all troubles, for all illness, exists. We are not going to become involved in a discussion on this theme. The discussion is, strictly, not on whether or not this corresponds to the truth or would be desirable to occur in reality. The discussion is, whatever the case, that at the basis of all the arguments between supporters and detractors of parapsychology in general, is the completely understandable aspiration to help relieve people from pain and suffering.

But here, the American generals would like to step into the "discussion." Pentagon admirers of "paranormal phenomena," as it is called in the West, are not at all interested in healing people. They are perplexed by one thing only--how to kill more effectively. The essence of the phenomenon is not clear, there still is no sense of whether it exists in general, but in Washington there is already a serious discussion as to how it may be directed to harm people. And for this goal, in their opinion, all means are acceptable.

And in order to hide this, to veil this--their unseemly purpose--the old, but tested method is set into motion: the myth of the "Soviet threat."

"Anxiety over a gap in the area of psychological weaponry," writes THE NEW YORK TIMES, "appeared in the White House on at least one occasion. This problem troubled J. Carter even before he entered the presidency....In 1977, according to certain information, President Carter directed the Central Intelligence Agency to conduct high-level psychological research in trying to evaluate the potential threat from the 'iron curtain.'"

As you see, the device of "the Russians are doing it"--the obsession of one of the past Pentagon chiefs, Forrestal--is identical, no matter what is being discussed be it nuclear missiles, cosmic laser guns or extrasenses: it's necessary, as soon as possible, before it's too late, to eliminate the gap before the Russians use their advantage. And THE NEW YORK TIMES also rushes to contribute its bit, although it also tries, with references to diverse, sometimes even contradicting sources, to create the appearance of objectivity. And even the words about the "Soviet threat" are slipped into the article as though in an off-hand way, without particular pressure, and not from itself.

"All who believe that the military are engaged in psychic research," we read in the article, "are convinced: these investigations to a great extent are conditioned by the dangers that the achievement of the enemy in the area of psychic phenomena may lead to a situation in which American armed forces will be quietly disabled. They say that specialists from the CIA recently visited one of the main parapsychologists in the country in order to get information as to whether or not mediums create interference for operating computers."

Crafty isn't it? The newspaper both believes and doesn't believe, foists nothing off on the reader, but lets them sort it out themselves.

But neither the author of the article nor the editor, judging from everything, has any doubt that their basic thought will be accepted as true: however all this is related, "Moscow intrigues" are at fault. And the fact that this thought is not given directly, on the face of it, is of no consequence: there is no need to do that. Many years of laborious work has already been done with the readers. The soil was prepared long ago for these poisonous seeds.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### SRV, AFRO-ASIAN LAW STUDENTS WORK IN CONSTRUCTION

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian May 84 p 3

[Article by Professor A. Agzamkhodzhayev, Dean of Law Faculty, Tashkent State University imeni V. S. Lenin: "In the Spirit of Internationalism"]

[Text] An important aspect of ideological work, stressed by the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is the education of the Soviet people in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

In the Tashkent University law faculty representatives of 65 nationalities are being instructed, including students from foreign countries. The international education of students is an inherent part of the educational process. The course in the history of the USSR state and laws contains much material for this purpose. When studying such questions as the national-state demarcation in Central Asia, the creation of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic and the rise and development of Soviet law in Uzbekistan, the teachers strive to include a large amount of historical material showing the role and significance of the aid received by the Uzbek SSR from the great Russian people, from the laborers of all the soviet republics. The great successes of the republic in economics, culture and science became possible due to the genuine fraternal cooperation of the workers of all nationalities inhabiting Uzbekistan, thanks to the constant attention which the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government have shown concerning the development of Uzbekistan. Along with this, the contribution of our republic to the development of the economics and culture of the Soviet Union, to victory during the Great Patriotic War and the significance of Uzbekistan as a fundamental cotton base of the country is stressed.

Questions of educating the student body in the spirit of internationalism are continuously at the center of attention of party, Komsomol, professional and independent student organizations. For this purpose special lectures and public debates are organized. In the international student friendship club created in the department students get acquainted with veterans of the party, with Civil War and the Patriotic War veterans, with heroes of labor and participants of science and culture.

There are a large number of students studying in the department from foreign countries: Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Mongolian People's Republic, Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as well as from Pakistan, Bangladesh and a number of arab and African countries. We consider our most important problem to be firming the friendships between Soviet and foreign students--offering them fraternal help in studying Russian, mastering specialized knowledge and acquainting them with historical monuments and attainments of Soviet Uzbekistan over six decades. Best of all, this is achieved during the course of daily contact. Foreign students spend leisure time together with Soviet students, participate in the workings of scientific circles, independent circles, in sports competitions, in cultural campaigns and in volunteer labor groups. All this helps strengthen the friendship between Soviet and foreign students and educates them in the spirit of internationalism. In the international friendship club thematic evenings are conducted in which students become acquainted with the people of other countries. Especially successful are the evenings devoted to one or another country, representatives of which are studying in the department. Such evenings help broaden the horizon and help students draw closer together spiritually.

"Lawyer" competitions are held annually. Participation in them requires the student to have not only knowledge of a foreign language, but also information about the given country and its juridical standards. Such competitions, for example, were held successfully in German and English. The winners were encouraged with tourist trips to the German Democratic Republic.

Friendships with students of socialist Bulgaria were strengthened by the traditional ties of friendship established between the law faculties of Tashkent and Sophia Universities. Annually, a group of the best students of our department do an internship in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and a group of Bulgarian students are in Uzbekistan.

Departmental students participate in scientific conferences conducted by juridical VUZes of the RSFSR, Georgia, Estonia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, where they give scientific reports and information. Great possibilities for strengthening international student friendships are opened during the course of conducting such important social and political campaigns as the participation in agricultural work--the labor semester. As is generally acknowledged, nothing brings people closer together than joint productive labor, general successes and socialist competition. Striving to obtain the highest indicators in labor, mutual assistance and aid and leisure together--all of these are powerful factors in international education.

Student construction detachments of the law faculty in recent years have worked in Tyumen, Mangyshlaka, in the Altay and on the Karshin steppe, as well as have participated in the international construction detachment in the Polish People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia. The cream of the crop is directed to these detachments.

International education of students takes place also in daily life during the leisure hours. We consider an important center for such work to be the

dormitories, departments and student study rooms. Here, students spend a significant proportion of their time. Mutual assistance in preparing for seminars and applied work, exchanges of opinions about books they have read, plays and films they have seen, contact with students of different nationalities--all this is an important reserve in international education which we are striving to use.

The main thing in educational work is a comprehensive approach. That is why the most important guarantee of success and effectiveness of work in the international education of students is a continuous educational effect on all stages of instruction, due to its diversity in form and methods.

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## NATIONAL

### 'YOUNG, EDUCATED' BELIEVERS REQUIRE NEW KIND OF ATHEIST WORK

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR. SERIYA I. PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 84 (signed to press 27 Dec 83) pp 184-192

[Review by I. L. Vartanov of V. A. Saprykin's book "Sotsialisticheskiy kollektiv i ateisticheskoye vospitaniye: Opyt, sistema, probl." [The Socialist Collective and Atheistic Indoctrination: Experience, System, Problems], Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 175 pp]

[Text] The scientific-materialist world view, which has become the property of tens of millions of people, prevails in the developed socialist society. More than 80 percent of the adult population is free of religious influences. Under socialism, the author emphasizes, not only have the roots of religion been undermined, but the new economic, social, and spiritual prerequisites necessary for the final victory over religious survivals are continually coming into being and developing. The social experience of our society affirms "daily and hourly" the Marxist tenet that "religion will disappear as socialism develops" (from a conversation between K. Marx and a CHICAGO TRIBUNE correspondent, K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Second Edition, vol 45, p 474).

But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that at the present time "tens of millions of Soviet people to a greater or lesser extent pay tribute to religious survivals" (p 34). Hence the urgent task of studying the characteristics of the existence and continuous renewal of religiosity both inside and outside the labor collectives. Sociological surveys in different regions of the country, in different labor collectives, and among various groups of believers show that the family, the religious community, and believing neighbors, relatives, friends, and so on constitute relatively stable sources of the spread of religious views. Believers in Karaganda Oblast, for example, named the following factors that attracted them to church (surveyed by the author of the book): "parents" were cited by 74.7 percent of those questioned; "church or prayerhouse sermons" (13.5 percent); "religious literature" (14 percent); "religious radio broadcasts" (11.5 percent); "conversations with religious acquaintances" (11.1 percent); "conversations with preachers and priests" (5.1 percent). Clearly, the sphere of everyday life, the immediate human environment, or the relevant literature may constitute factors promoting the spread of religiosity. The gnoseological and psychological roots of the latter are substantially weakened under socialism, so that the viewpoint of some researchers who claim that the reasons for belief in God or a tendency to do so on the part of a certain portion of the population have proved to be "deeper and more complex" than was earlier assumed appears to be wrong.



The author is especially disturbed by the fact that a considerable number of believers obtain their information from religious radio broadcasts. Moreover, "these are foreign radio broadcasts, inasmuch as Soviet radio does not broadcast on religious themes" (p 45). Many religious communities these days tape foreign religious broadcasts and then listen to them repeatedly. And there is an even more serious stimulant to religiosity--the activities of religious groups and associations, numerous ministers, the clerical and lay aktiv, and ordinary rank-and-file believers who directly or indirectly contribute to the spread of religious ideology and morality. And the facts attest that the churchgoers' attempts to attract as many people into their ranks as possible are yielding definite results. In a 10-year period, for example, evangelistic Christian-Baptist communities increased by 93 percent in Pinsk and 70 percent in Brest and Baranovichi.

The quantitative increase in the number of believers in many cases is just one side of the matter. Even more important is that fact that in recent years the clergy and sect members have been vigorously seeking new forms and means of religious influence on people; they have modernized certain dogmas to adapt to current modes of thinking. Some churchgoers even conduct surveys among their fellow believers, summarize the answers, analyze them, and discern the components of believers' world view and behavior. Religious communities are working out and implementing an elaborated system to get the rising generation to become associated with religion. Among the most prevalent forms of religious propaganda the author cites religious instruction (prayer meetings, "Sunday schools," religious literature, individual work in the home, families, on the job, and in the collectives); religious-artistic indoctrination (church choirs, orchestras, the learning of verses and shows religious-mystical themes); and, finally, material support including all kinds of charity work.

The author deals with the extraordinarily important matter of the changing social structure of religious communities, and he shares some important observations. First of all, the stratum of workers and employees among believers is rising. Secondly--and this is most important--the church people have managed to halt the process of aging and feminization of religious communities that began in the 1950s and 1960s. Third, it is very clear that a new type of believer has been shaped and is being shaped--"the young, relatively well-educated person, engaged in social production, a member of a labor collective" (p 67). Believers of that type are characterized by a wide range of spiritual needs; they are interested not only in theological but also political problems; they need a rationalist foundation for their belief and an understanding of the philosophical and ethical aspects of the doctrines.

What can and should the labor collective do in order to counter, in a politically astute and at the same time tactful manner, the religious inclinations of certain people, to lead them out of their religious captivity? Atheistic indoctrination, the author emphasizes, must be viewed as a specific interpretation of the culture of human relations, for only with this approach can the key to solving the problem be found. Genuine concern for the human being--this is the most effective means of dissuading a person from turning to the

world of illusions, the cult of God. It is very important to help religiously inclined people, to soothe their "real or imagined" wounds, to "brighten up their loneliness" and old age, to provide answers to questions that bother them. Labor collectives are fully capable of handling this task, the author believes, of overcoming the so-called deficiency of human care. Thus, for example, "Attention Councils" have been set up and are functioning at the Ivanovo Order of Lenin Worsted Fabrics Combine imeni V. I. Lenin. Members of these councils see that attention is paid to each and every significant event in the life of their workmates: they hand over to young production workers their labor booklets and first wages, they celebrate birthdays and other significant dates in the personal life of workers of the enterprise, and if young workers get married they accompany them to the Wedding Palace, congratulate the newlyweds, and give them souvenirs. This tradition has taken hold, and now similar "Attention Councils" are being created in the enterprises of Vyaznikovskiy Rayon in Vladimir Oblast.

The author believes that the new Soviet celebrations and ceremonies are among the most important mass forms of atheistic indoctrination in the labor collective. They have become a permanent part of the life not only of society as a whole but also each collective and every individual member. The atheistic significance of the new celebrations and ceremonies consists of the fact that by virtue of their whole content they perform effective "social and ideological functions," they foster the shaping of the workers' materialist world view. Socialist ceremonies act simultaneously on people's consciousness, emotions, and behavior, and these determine their success in the matter of atheistic indoctrination. In addition, the new Soviet ceremonies and celebrations help to overcome religious alienation from the collective, individualism, and egotism due to the religious mentality, and they help to strengthen the individual's social ties to the collective.

The author believes that a crucial factor in the matter of overcoming religiosity is party supervision of atheistic indoctrination in the labor collective. In these efforts we may single out three basic directions: introducing into the workers' consciousness systematized knowledge, scientific ideas concerning nature and society, demonstrating the bankruptcy of the religious vision of the world; transforming the transmitted knowledge into firm and consciously realized materialist convictions; and developing on the basis of these convictions an atheistic behavior not only in the collective but also outside it. To implement these integrated efforts, party organizations draw up current and long-range plans.

"Atheistic behavior" is a special matter. By this the author means everyday actions, the individual's workaday actions not permitting any compromise with religion and the church, directed toward "daily confirmation and dissemination" of the ideas and principles of the scientific world view, of materialist views. This is a vital task. The author cites examples of a tolerant attitude toward religion on the part of certain communists and Komsomol members, passivity and an inclination not to struggle with religious survivals, and sometimes even direct participation in particular religious ceremonies. Such phenomena still persist in Turkmenia, Kazakhstan, and Mordovia. Consider this: a total of 10 communists and 69 Komsomol members took part in

christening ceremonies in Dubenskiy, Kovylkinskiy, and Insarskiy rayons in Mordovia in 1977. In a number of cases in Turkmenia, village activists and education workers turned up among "spiritual authorities," and M. Mamedov of Krasnovodskiy Rayon, a CPSU member and school director, served as a mullah for a number of years. Such a howling lack of principle inflicts enormous damage on the effort to root out religiosity and give the workers atheistic indoctrination.

The author believes one of the most important matters is that of the unity of atheistic and moral indoctrination in the labor collective. "Atheism and morality are two inseparable parts of a single whole and, along with political maturity and high ideals, constitute vital components of the spiritual makeup of members of a socialist labor collective" (p 154). Our society has created "an atmosphere of social optimism" which fosters the unfolding of all man's creative potential, and this must serve as the basis of the collective's beneficial moral influence. The political and economic education system, forms of mass propaganda (schools of communist labor, people's universities, public lectures and lecture cycles), in-house and wall newspapers, radio centers and visual agitation--all of these are "tested means" of moral indoctrination. A new initiative in this regard, one which has already given a good account of itself, is the "Labor Honor Code" adopted by workers in Tambov Oblast, which characterizes the essence of the moral principles of each member of the labor collective:

--It is not enough to do one's assigned job well, one must work creatively and in a truly communist manner.

--In working for society, you are working for yourself. Labor for the good of the people is the highest happiness!

--The working minute is the people's wealth. Everything at the plant is yours, be careful with it.

--The drifter is the enemy of production.

--The cadre worker is the newcomer's friend, mentor, and teacher. It is up to us to educate our replacements.

--You are the inheritor and continuer of glorious labor and revolutionary traditions. The collective's honor is your honor!

The author sees as disappointing failures in atheistic work the fact that sometimes agitators, political information specialists, lecturers, and propagandists are incapable of proving logically the bankruptcy of the church's and religion's claims to be the main and all but the sole representatives of morality. They are not always able to convince people that "genuine morality depends not on belief in God, not on religion, but on the workers' struggle to restructure society on a communist basis" (p 157). As a result, a considerable number of believers still relate their moral ideas to the church and, as surveys have shown, accord religion an important place in the sphere of morality and ethics--a "correct understanding of life," "strengthening of the family," "bringing up children," "human consolation," and so on. A

survey of 296 believers in Karaganda Oblast showed that 16.8 percent of the Lutherans, 24 percent of the Mennonites, 18 percent of the Baptists and 23.7 percent of the Catholics are convinced that religion "educates and morally perfects man."

We want to see the socialist individual politically and morally mature, the author emphasizes. Among the most important educative functions of the labor collective is the shaping of its members' sense and consciousness of civic spirit. It must be emphasized specially that the true citizen, the patriot of his motherland, is above all an honest and resourceful worker, one who actively implements the party's and state's ambitious plans, the individual who is keenly interested in the affairs of his collective, as he is in the affairs of society as a whole.

The shaping of such an individual will succeed if each labor collective has, in addition to "goal-directed atheistic efforts," a functioning system "which promotes the all-round development of both believers and nonbelievers, expanding their political and cultural horizon, enhancing their social involvement, bringing them into contact with the values of science, culture, and the socialist way of life" (p 174). All of this will constitute a powerful means of shaping the working people's scientific-materialist world view.

Sociological studies have shown with perfect clarity the prevalence among believers of a narrow, philistine morality and mentality, a lack of spirituality, which nourishes religious moods and views. Many believers are aloof from feelings of international closeness and respect for people of other nationalities. Our socialist experience demonstrates that in labor collectives where serious importance is attached to matters of moral indoctrination there is no place for individualism, apathy, and religious survivals. For example, the collective of the Rovno Flax Combine has had an effective form of moral-aesthetic and patriotic indoctrination functioning for about 10 years now in the dormitories: young people's special-interest associations, including the "Communist Morality Club" film lecture bureau, the monthly oral journal ROVESNIK [Coeval], the "Vechernitsi" club for arts lovers, the "Podruga" youth club, and the military-patriotic club "For the Fatherland." In each club the plan of activities is drawn up for the calendar year, and the activities themselves are conducted in the form of debates, talks, and theme evenings which conclude with concerts and movies.

Under current conditions, the author says in conclusion, the development of a variety of forms of social amateur activities, enrichment of the social and spiritual life of the individual, and strengthening of social relations with society are becoming increasingly important directions in the shaping of the scientific-materialist world view. It is essential to overcome relapses of "bare educationism [prosvetitel'stvo]", to strengthen ties with real life in every way. It is possible to expel religious and other survivals from the people's consciousness only on the basis of creating a healthy moral-psychological atmosphere, a genuine rather than a superficial respect and attitude of concern for each and every human being, compliance with the norms of socialist democracy in every labor collective.

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## REGIONAL

### USUBALIYEV PLENUM SPEECH ON WORK OF DEPUTIES, TEACHERS

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 4 May 84 pp 1-3

[Speech: "The Results of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization Which Evolve From Its Decisions and the Speech at the Plenum by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko: Report by First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirgizia, Comrade T. U. Usubaliyev at the 28 April 1984 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirgizia"]

[Excerpts] Comrades! Today, at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirgizia it is necessary, in the light of the decisions of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the principles and conclusions contained in the statements by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, to define the specific tasks of the republic's party organization in improving the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies and increasing their role in the resolution of questions of socioeconomic development. The party organizations will have to do a large amount of work to carry out the reforms of public education.

The local Soviets in KiSSR, like those in the other fraternal republics, represent a large political force. They rightfully are a powerful instrument in communist construction. The persons who have been elected to their ranks include more than 28,000 of the best and most authoritative representatives of the workers. They represent all the nationalities that reside in our republic. More than half the deputies work in the sphere of material production. The deputies carry out a large amount of organizational and indoctrinational work in their electoral districts themselves, at enterprises and construction sites, on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and in institutions and educational establishments. The republic has 1850 deputy groups and posts in operation, and more than 80 percent of the deputies and approximately 19,000 activists are working in more than 4000 permanent commissions of local Soviets.

The deputies are fighting actively to fulfill the decisions of the party and the Soviets, and are serving as models of selfless labor in the nationwide socialist competition. For example, in 1983, 148 deputies of the KiSSR Supreme Soviet who are directly engaged in the sphere of material production coped successfully with the plans and socialist pledges. More than 16,000 deputies to local Soviets also fulfilled the 1983 assignments ahead of time, with 9000 of them working in November-December on 1984 assignments, and 183 on 1985 assignments.



In honor of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Kirgiz SSR and the KiCP, all the Soviet deputies who are engaged in the sphere of material production took increased socialist pledges -- they decided to fulfill ahead of schedule the 1984 assignments, including approximately 1500 deputies who pledged to complete the five-year plan in four years, and 317 who pledged to complete it in October 1984.

The KiCP Central Committee has approved the patriotic initiative of the deputies and has recommended to the party committees, and to the executive committees of the oblast, rayon, city, settlement, and rural Soviets of People's Deputies that they broadly extend their undertakings.

The Soviets of People's Deputies carry out the guidance of all spheres of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical life of the republic. In the center of their activities are such important questions as the development of the national economy, the improvement of the working, everyday, and recreational conditions for the workers, and the raising of the level of their education and culture. During the first three years of the five-year plan the republic fulfilled the plans for all the basic indicators. The collectives also coped successfully with the assignments for the first quarter of the current year. In all this one can clearly discern the organizing activity of the Soviets of People's Deputies.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko, speaking at a session of the CPSU Central Committee's Commission for the Preparation of a New Version of the CPSU Program, emphasized that "an invariable requirement in the program of the CPSU Central Committee has been and continues to be the steady rise in the national standard of living. Hence a task of primary importance is the creation of a highly effective economy, the basis of the increasingly complete satisfying of the material and spiritual demands of Soviet citizens and the growth of our country's might."

The constantly growing scope of economic and cultural construction require the Soviets, in addition to the party and economic agencies, to engage more actively in the resolution of the questions of socioeconomic development and to strive for the steady fulfillment of the national-economic plans. The fulfillment of plans, it was noted at the April Plenum, is not only a question of economic discipline. It is a question of party and political responsibility. In our republic 27 industrial enterprises failed to cope with the first quarter's plan for the sale of output; 72 failed to fulfill their pledges with regard to contract shipments; and 58 failed to fulfill the plan for increase in labor productivity. Kantskiy Rayon failed to fulfill the plan for sale of output, and the cities of Tokmak and Kara-Balta, and Kalininskiy and Moskovskiy Rayons allowed the volume of production to fall.

In our republic 70 farms, judged on the basis of the results of the first quarter, remained in debt to the country with regard to the sale of meat; 41 farms, the sale of milk; and 23, the sale of eggs.

Many enterprises in transportation, communication, trade, and public services worked below their capabilities. What were the reasons for the lag in the work of these enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes? First of all, in the fact that their work was not constantly supervised by the party or Soviet agencies and no strict demands were made on the administrators for the fulfillment of the state assignments.



The Central Committee Buro, the Council of Ministers, the party committees, the local Soviets and their executive committees, and the administrators of ministries and departments must carefully analyze the results of the work in the first quarter of 1984 and carry out specific measures to make up in the second quarter of 1984 for the lag that has been allowed to occur, and must guarantee the stable and rhythmic operation of all the labor collectives.

Special attention must be devoted to the unconditional fulfillment of the pledges pertaining to contract shipments of output, and of the party assignments for the above-plan increase in labor productivity and the reduction of the production costs. In agriculture at the present time it is necessary to execute as quickly and as efficiently as possible all the field operations and to carry out at a high agrotechnical level the cultivation of the fields, as well as preparing well for the summer pasture maintenance of the livestock, the laying in of supplies of fodders and the bringing in of the harvest, and the acceptance and processing of output. In capital construction it is necessary to concentrate the efforts and funds on the most important projects slated for activation in 1984 and to guarantee the fulfillment of the plans for the activation of housing and structures intended for social and cultural purposes.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers must intensify the demand placed on the chairmen of the executive committees of the Soviets of People's Deputies for the job that has been assigned to them, so as to assure that they will strictly observe executive discipline and manifest creative initiative and persistence in their work.

The party's oblast, city, and rayon committees must constantly increase the responsibility borne by the Communists working in the local Soviets for the resolution of the questions increasing the production, expanding the variety, and improving the quality of consumer goods. This is a task of primary importance. However, during the first quarter of this year the plan for production of consumer goods was not fulfilled by 20 enterprises. The responsibility for that is borne by the appropriate local Soviets.

Many of the executive committees of the local Soviets also overlook such an important matter as the organization of traditional folk handicrafts for the production of articles that are popular with the public, and the use of the experience of skilled folk artists. The Council of Ministers must take under special consideration the question of developing folk handicrafts in the republic.

The everyday services provided to the public require the daily attention of the local Soviets. Recently we have had a noticeable increase in the scope of the services being rendered. At the same time, many enterprises have been operating irregularly, and have not been fulfilling their planning assignments. Something that has been especially disconcerting is the low level of the everyday services provided in the rural areas.

The workers are justifiably expressing many complaints about the poor operation of transportation, especially passenger transportation. The growing needs of the national economy for shipments are not being satisfied completely. The coefficient of use of the motor pool is low; fuels and lubricants are being expended uneconomically; and the fight to economize on them and to introduce thrifty measures has been poorly organized. One still encounters such shameful situations

as figure-padding in reports, the misappropriation of proceeds by certain dishonest drivers, and an inattentive attitude toward the passengers. But these and other situations have not been receiving sharp state evaluation on the part of the executive committees. At sessions of the Soviets, there is no thorough critiquing of the work performed by the transportation enterprises, and their administrators are not asked to give oral reports.

Recently the buro of the KiCP Central Committee considered the question of increasing the effectiveness of using the motor-transport means and intensifying the struggle against figure-padding when carrying freight, and of guaranteeing the integrity of the supplies of fuels and lubricants. An inspection revealed scandalous situations. Because of the lack of supervision in the motor-vehicle managements that were inspected in Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways, Ministry of Construction, Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry, Ministry of Procurement, and State Committee for Agricultural Technology, instances of figure-padding were revealed. The Central Committee buro strictly punished the administrators who were to blame for the poor use of the motor transport and who had allowed the figure-padding, the deceptive reporting methods, and the other shameful phenomena, and required the party's oblast, city, and rayon committees to carry out daily supervision of the operation of transport.

The Soviets must increase their demandingness toward the organizing of trade services for the public, in which there are also a large number of serious shortcomings. It is necessary to devote a large amount of attention to improving the organization of the protection of the public's health, especially that of the children. It is necessary to view as a task of great economic and social importance the protection of the environment and the efficient use of natural resources.

In the field of agriculture the Soviets must resolve in a concrete and stable manner such important questions as the increase in the efficiency of vegetable and animal husbandry and the effectiveness of the entire agroindustrial complex, and the introduction into production of the achievements of science, technology, and advanced experience. And, of course, the chief task is the organizing of constant and effective supervision over the fulfillment of the plans for the production and sale to the state of agricultural output.

For the republic as a whole during the first three years of the five-year plan we have not had any indebtedness with regard to the sale of output from animal husbandry to the state. At the same time the state has been undersupplied with a large amount of cotton, sugar beets and sugar-beet seeds, melon crops, fruits, and grapes. Last year we managed to compensate for a considerable amount of the indebtedness (in terms of value) by overfulfillment of the plan for sale of tobacco, alfalfa seeds, and a number of other products. According to computations made by specialists, we have the opportunity to compensate completely for the indebtedness in terms of value during the current year. But it is necessary for us to compensate for the indebtedness for all types of food products by delivering output to the state in kind.

In the resolution of this task an important reserve is the development of the public's private plots, which is a matter to which the local Soviets must devote first-priority attention. Private plots in rural areas today have more than

330,000 head of cattle, 1,300,000 sheep, 60,000 horses, 55,000 hogs, more than 2 million head of poultry, and approximately 50,000 hectares of excellent plowland.

In providing themselves with food supplies, the kolkhoz members and the sovkhoz workers also sell their surplus products to state and cooperative organizations or in the kolkhoz market. With the proper concern on the part of the Soviets of People's Deputies concerning the increase in the effectiveness of the public's personal plots, the increase in the production of food products there could be even more considerable.

In 1983 in our republic almost every fourth family of kolkhoz members did not have any livestock at all; every third, no cattle; every other one, no cows; 40 percent, no sheep. But all of this fails to worry many Soviets.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, the oblast rayon executive committees, the rural and settlement Soviets, and the Ministries of Agriculture and the Fruit and Vegetable Industry must take specific steps to increase the amount of livestock and poultry on the public's personal plots, and to increasing the harvest yield per irrigated hectare on those plots. I am convinced that this kind of concern with pay for itself a hundredfold and that the Soviets are completely capable of doing this work.

Dwelling upon questions of the legal-organizational activities of the Soviets, Comrade Usubaliyev devoted attention to the need to improve the practice of preparing and conducting the sessions and meetings of the executive committees and the permanent commissions. Frequently they are conducted without sufficient preparation, the thoughtful and profound discussion of questions is replaced by reports about one's personal activities, but sharp critical statements are heard extremely infrequently and shyly from the rostrum of the sessions.

The deputies act in the name of the nation, on its instructions, and that is why it is necessary to take such a strict approach to those who disregard their opinion, and, consequently, the opinion of the workers. To no small degree the observance of the status of the deputies depends upon the party organizations. Every incident of a person's taking a formal attitude toward legitimate demands should be given a prompt and well-principled evaluation.

Much will also have to be done to improve the activities of the permanent commissions. Their closer contact with the public would make it possible to take into better consideration the public opinion and the businesslike recommendations and advice of the workers. In recent years much has been done in the republic to guarantee the publicity of the work performed by the local Soviets. These measures include reports by deputies to the voters, and reports by the administrative workers of the executive committees at labor collectives and the places where the citizens live. In 1983 alone, more than 25,400 such meetings were conducted, at which 2.3 million voters were present.

Last year the republic held more than 1500 open-letter days, in which more than 200,000 persons took part. It is necessary to continue to develop that form of working with the workers, and the executive committees of the Soviets and the deputies must participate more actively in it.

Among the most important concerns that the deputies have, a special place is occupied by the voters' mandates. The measures to implement the mandates are regularly discussed at the sessions and it has become a well-established practice to have the deputies give reports to the voters. Taking into consideration those mandates, the republic has built a large number of schools, kindergartens and nurseries, stores, everyday-services enterprises, and hospitals. It must be taken as a rule that the mandates accepted by the Soviet for execution are invariably included in the plan and that all the necessary material resources are made available for their fulfillment.

The large tasks that have been assigned to the Soviets and the agencies that are responsible to them require a fundamental improvement in the work of the Soviets' apparatus itself. It is necessary for each worker in that apparatus to demonstrate the maximum amount of initiative in his work and for him to prepare in a thorough manner the decisions that are being made. In this regard it is completely inadmissible when certain executive committees make decisions that contradict the laws, and sometimes are simply detrimental to the overall job at hand. As a result of these violations, the chairman of Sokulukskiy Rayon Executive Committee, Comrade Smeyukha, was relieved of his duties.

Despite the steps that are being taken, the republic has not yet completely eliminated the instances of squandering and theft of socialist property in the national economy. As has been demonstrated by an inspection, many of the local Soviets leave almost undiscussed the questions of guaranteeing the intactness of socialist property. Instances of the stealing of the people's wealth and the steps that are taken with respect to those who have stolen it are not given wide publicity, and steps are taken slowly to eliminate the serious shortcomings in organizing the accounting of material assets and in selecting workers for the materially responsible positions.

There can be not the slightest leniency toward thieves, there can be no mercy. They are our worst enemies. The carrying out of measures to reinforce law and order and socialist legality, the intensification of the fight against thieves and bribe-takers is not a temporary campaign. It is a fight that is being maintained by all the Soviet citizens and that will continue firmly and steadily.

Another very important sector in the activity of the Soviets which requires greater concreteness and a more businesslike approach, and one which precludes every kind of formalism and red-tape methods, is the work with the letters and statements from the workers. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized at the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "many letters raise major questions of our life that are disturbing people."

During recent years the work with letters has improved somewhat. However, to put it bluntly, certain executive committees do not always take an objective approach to the analysis of the statements made by the workers. And the people are forced to go up to a higher administrative echelon, all the way up to the CPSU Central Committee.

Last year alone the republic's party committees received 15,000 letters, and the KiCP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of

Ministers received 7500 letters. When you read those letters, you come to the conclusion that most of the problems could be resolved locally. The party committees must hold the administrators of the oblast, city, and rayon executive committees strictly accountable for their callous attitude toward the citizens' justified complaints.

Take, for example, such a question as social security. It includes many aspects: the establishment of pensions; the prompt paying of them; the authorization to issue trip tickets, to assign motor vehicles, motorized wheelchairs, etc. Who, then, if not the executive committees of the Soviets, should resolve these questions objectively? The situation sometimes gets to such a point that even with regard to the prompt payment of pensions the citizens write letters to the Central Committee.

One of the critical problems that are raised by the workers in their letters continues to be the providing of communal services to the public. There has been a large number of complaints, especially from the city of Frunze, concerning the shortcomings in the providing of water, complaints about the poor heating, the poor quality of housing repairs, etc. The city rayon executive committees, and the people's deputies, are well aware of these concerns of the workers, but they are doing very little to resolve them on a comprehensive basis. The buro of the KiCP Central Committee was forced, for example, to carry out a special consideration of the question concerning the supplying of the republic's capital with drinking water.

A considerable number of letters arrive at the Soviet and party agencies with regard to housing matters. For example, there have been rather frequent instances when houses are turned over although they contain large amounts of unfinished work and this, naturally, causes the justified complaints by the citizens. But the Soviets, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko noted at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, do not always show the proper persistence in using their rights in these matters.

An important condition for improving the work of the Soviets is the elimination of shortcomings in the selection, placement, and indoctrination of the cadres of Soviet workers. The overwhelming majority of them are specialists in various branches of the national economy. Every third chairman of an oblast, city, or rayon executive committee has higher party-political education. The party committees should show special concern about those persons who were recently elected to the Soviet agencies.

The party committees must not simply record the negative manifestations that are committed by the workers in the Soviet agencies, but must intensify the ideological-indoctrinational work. Putting it bluntly, many of the negative situations could have been avoided if the party committees had been more careful in selecting the personnel for the Soviet agencies and had carried out regular supervision of their work. An atmosphere of high reciprocal demandingness, criticism, and self-criticism has not been created in all the executive committees of the Soviets. It is necessary to carry out more careful work with the personnel reserve of Soviet workers. It must be admitted that the situation is far from favorable in this regard in our republic. That is why we frequently experience serious difficulties when filling the vacant positions of Soviet workers. The party committees should know the people not on the basis of their



questionnaires, but should study them while they are engaged in specific matters and, when making a selection from among them, should rely upon the opinion of the primary party organizations and the labor organizations.

In increasing the role of the local Soviets, a great amount of responsibility is placed upon the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the republic's Council of Ministers. At their sessions it is necessary to have the participants listen to oral reports from the local Soviets, which will contribute to increasing the responsibility of the Soviet workers for the job assigned to them and to assuring the complete consideration of the vital problems of the workers.

Constant concern for the complete satisfying of the growing needs of the workers, the resolution of those needs as a total set of problems, is one of the most important trends in the activities of the Soviets. That is also the party's requirement. And it must be executed strictly.

Comrades! The decisions of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the speech at that Plenum by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko and the Basic Directions for the Reform of General Educational and Vocational Schools, which were approved by the Plenum, have set down our party's strategic line in the area of public education in conformity with the directive instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the June 1983 and the February 1984 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

The recent nationwide discussion of the draft version by the CPSU Central Committee of the "Basic Directions for the Reform of General Educational and Vocational Schools," which discussion was carried out with a tremendous amount of enthusiasm, has been a brilliant testimony to the true democratism of Soviet society and the party's faith to the Leninist behest -- with regard to the chief questions in the life of the party and the country, one must constantly seek the advice of the working masses. In our republic alone, more than 760,000 persons took part in the discussion of the draft version of the CPSU Central Committee's document, approximately 30,000 persons made statements, and more than 10,000 comments, suggestions, and additions to the draft version were made.

The course of the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee's draft version was considered at sessions of the bureau of the Central Committee, the oblast, city, and rayon committees of the KICP, and the incoming recommendations and comments have been generalized and analyzed and are being used in the work to improve the instruction and indoctrination of young students.

Emphasizing the tremendous sociopolitical significance of the reform, the participants in the discussions noted with a sense of gratitude the constant fatherly concern shown by the Communist Party and the Soviet government for the indoctrination of youth, and they pointed out the timeliness of the reform and the profound and complete substantiation of the measures stipulated in it. The workers spoke with a particular amount of gratitude about the large personal contribution that was made by Comrade K. U. Chernenko as the chairman of the commission of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee to the elaboration of the basic trends in the reform.

The workers in the republic expressed their unanimous approval of the measures planned by the party for the fundamental improvement of the work performed by the general educational and vocational schools.



As was emphasized at the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the reform has been called upon to raise the work of the general educational and vocational schools to a qualitatively new level, to eliminate the shortcomings that exist in their activities, and guarantee the profound assimilation by the students of the principles of sciences and the development in them of firm Communist convictions, industriousness, moral purity, and their indoctrination in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and love for our Motherland and the readiness to defend it.

The system of education and vocational training that has developed in our republic has been developing at steady rates, and there has been an improvement in the work of providing the instruction and Communist indoctrination of youth. During the past ten years more than 650,000 young people received complete secondary education in our republic's schools; and vocational-technical schools have sent to the national economy almost 300,000 qualified workers.

However, the organizational structure of the system of public education and vocational training of young people fails to meet present-day demands. And in this regard the reform stipulates the new organization of general secondary and vocational education. An important peculiarity of it is the directive instruction aimed at supplementing, over the period of one or two five-year plans, the universal secondary education of youth with universal Vocational education. Obviously, this is no simple task. But even now KiSSR Gosplan, the State Committee for Labor, the party agencies, the executive committees of the local Soviets of People's Deputies, Ministry of Education, and the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education must help the schools and vocational-and-technical schools to select the occupational specialties that are needed in the national economy of the particular region and must carry out on a daily basis and in a purposeful manner with them the work of providing vocational guidance. This is necessary for the precise planning of the streams of students who are to receive secondary education in the various types of educational institutions.

In conformity with the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent decrees of the party and the government concerning the school system, our republic, like the other republics throughout the country, has carried out a considerable amount of work to achieve the further improvement of the instructional and indoctrinational process in general educational schools.

At the same time the level of that work as a whole requires considerable improvement. The party committees, the school party organizations, and the public education agencies must constantly improve the instructional process in the schools, and must decisively eradicate any manifestation of formalism in the content and methods of the work performed by the schools, and in evaluating the results of their activities. The school's success should be evaluated on the basis of the depth and rate of retention of the knowledge and by the ideological and moral properties of the students, and the degree of their preparation for life.

One of the chief conditions for increasing the effectiveness of the instructional and indoctrinational process is the existence of approved, high-quality textbooks. The republic has created a number of unique textbooks that are interesting in their content and that are easily understood with regard to the exposition of the teaching materials. At the same time, the level of certain textbooks fails to conform to the present-day requirements. A task of primary importance to Ministry of Education and the Institute of Pedagogics is the substantial

improvement of the existing textbooks and teaching aids, and the development of approved, unique ones. The scientists at KiSSR Academy of Sciences, the instructors at institutions of higher learning, and the advanced teachers specializing in the area of teaching practice should take the most active part in this work. Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade] must improve the quality of publication of school textbooks.

When carrying out measures to improve the textbooks, it is necessary to be guided by the instruction given by Comrade K. U. Chernenko to the effect that "when taking the load of the curricula and preparing new, clear textbooks, one should not reduce their ideological content or lower the scientific level of instruction."

The schools are carrying out a definite amount of work to develop in the schoolchildren a Marxist-Leninist political philosophy, high moral qualities, good citizenship, utter devotion to the ideas of Communism, and love of their socialist Motherland. However, it must be admitted that the benefit, the indoctrinational effect of that work cannot satisfy us. In the general schools and the vocational-technical schools one still encounters rather frequent instances of hooliganism, crude language, acts of delinquency, and even crime among the minors. There has been an especially large number of such incidents in Osh and Issyk-Kul Oblasts and in Alamedinskiy, Moskovskiy, Issyk-Atinskiy, and Keminskiy Rayons and the city of Tokmak.

The republic's Commission for the Affairs of Minors (Comrade Tashibekova), Ministry of Education, State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, the local party and Soviet agencies, and the pedagogic collectives must intensify the work of eradicating the undesirable incidents among the young students. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized, "it is necessary for people in the schools not only to talk on topics of communist morality, but also teach the young men and women how to organize their own behavior in conformity with it."

The republic's party organizations are devoting a large amount of attention to the international indoctrination of the workers, and especially the young people. An exceptionally important role is assigned here to the educational institutions, and primarily to the general educational schools. And that is completely natural, since it is precisely those schools that have been called upon to lay a firm foundation for the communist conviction of the young people, to indoctrinate them in the spirit of internationalism and the fraternal friendship of nations, and to bring up people who will be patriots of our multinational Soviet Motherland.

In the international indoctrination of young people, an important role is played by the Russian language -- the language of international communication, a language that plays an outstanding role in the reinforcement of the ideological and political unity of the Soviet nation, the enrichment and internationalization of culture, in all spheres of social life. In Kirgizia, where the representatives of more than 80 nationalities and national groups live, the Russian language serves as a very important means of communication among them, a means which considerably speeds up the reinforcement in people's consciousness and emotions of the same international values.

One of the specific examples of concern shown for the study of the language of communication among nationalities is the duplication in Russian editions of the newspapers UCHITEL' KIRGIZSTANA and PIONER KIRGIZII. This makes it possible to enlarge the scope of the student audience and contributes to mutual enrichment with teachers' experience and to the better mastery of the Russian language by the schoolchildren.

At the present time the republic's schools are teaching Russian to more than 500,000 schoolchildren of the indigenous nationality. In response to the desires of the population, the public-education agencies are expanding the network of schools with parallel languages of instruction. Practically all the secondary schools have Russian language and literature labs, which are equipped with technical means of instruction and Linguaphone equipment.

There has been an improvement in the qualitative makeup of the Russian-language teachers. At the present time schools with the Kirgiz language of instruction employ 4600 Russian-studies teachers, of whom 88 percent have higher education. The first graduates of the Frunze Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature are successfully working in the schools.

At the same time there are also unresolved problems. They include, first of all, the lack of the appropriate training-materials base. The party committees, the Soviet agencies, and Ministry of Education must take additional steps, as has been required by the reform, to expand school construction and make permanent assignments of Russian-language teachers.

During recent years there has been a noticeable intensification in the republic of the work to provide the esthetic indoctrination of the schoolchildren. However, in this regard the creative unions are largely in debt to the schools. The schoolchildren need to have good songs with mass appeal, new children's plays and films dealing with modern topics, which depict the life of the young students and contribute to their harmonious development.

It is necessary to do everything to assure that the young generation grows up to be physically healthy, with the proper joie de vivre, and ready for labor and the defense of their Motherland. Recently the bureau of the KiCP Central Committee specially considered that question and passed a corresponding resolution, in which there was a definition of the complete series of steps to intensify all the work of preparing the young people for service in the ranks of the Soviet Army. In the present-day complicated international situation, the efforts of the party organizations and the pedagogical collectives in this direction are taking on special importance. The party committees must take the execution of the planned measures under their constant supervision.

Something that requires special attention is the providing of physical-culture teachers to the schools. At the present time half of them do not have the appropriate higher education. And yet we have a Physical Culture Institute where, during the past ten years alone, more than 1700 physical-culture teachers have been trained. But, as a rule, they become firmly settled in the cities and are not going to the schools. The blame for this lies first of all with the rector's office and the institute's party organization, which have been doing little to carry out indoctrinational work at the institution of higher learning and have not been guaranteeing the manning of the student contingents

by drawing on those regions where there is an acute shortage of physical-culture teachers. Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the rector's office, and the party organization of the Physical Culture Institute must establish the proper order with regard to this matter. In addition, KiSSR Gosplan must provide for measures to develop and reinforce the training-materials base at the institute in order to increase the number of physical-culture teachers who are graduating, and to provide such teachers to all the schools in the republic.

As was indicated in Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech at the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, whatever our children decide they want to become -- workers or agronomists, scientists or engineers -- they must receive their class toughening in labor collectives. It is necessary to strive for a situation in which their familiarity with production produces specifically that indoctrinational benefit that we need. In this regard, the job of instilling in the schoolchildren a love of work, and of assuring the complete inclusion of the force of labor productivity in the indoctrinational process, is one of the most important tasks of indoctrination. It is also necessary to keep in mind that the resolution of this task pertains to everyone. The job is truly a nationwide one.

Today the system that has developed in the schools for preparing the students for life and for labor needs further improvement. The school reform provides for the creation of training shops, sectors with all the rights of structural subdivisions of base enterprises. At the same time, at the present time the labor instruction of the schoolchildren is being carried out at only 46 enterprises, with the involvement of approximately 3000 students. In addition, many enterprises have failed to create the necessary conditions for the assimilation of working occupations.

It is necessary to assign enterprises permanently to every school, to every interschool training and production combine. They must organize the production activities of the schoolchildren, and must assign specialists and mentors for providing instruction and giving vocational guidance to the students. The instruction of the students in the senior classes must be organized in such a way that they can participate in production labor that is commensurate with their level of ability, and in such a way that their labor is planned, is carried out in accordance with established quotas, and is paid for. For this purpose it is necessary to allocate the necessary equipment, work sites, qualified personnel, and raw and other materials. Gosplan, Gossnab, and the ministries and departments must provide in the plans for the economic and social development of the branches the allocation of the material and other resources that are needed to organize the labor training of the students.

At the present time the administrators of the base enterprises, in addition to the directors of the educational institutions, bear personal responsibility for the labor instruction of the schoolchildren and the guaranteeing of their safe working conditions.

Gosplan, State Committee for Labor, and Ministry of Education, jointly with the base ministries and departments, must completely work out the question of

allocating work sites for schoolchildren at enterprises and on farms and must submit the coordinated recommendations to Council of Ministers for approval.

Something that has become a real school for the labor toughening of the students is the summertime labor quarter. More than 200,000 schoolchildren during the 1983 summer period worked on the fields and animal farms, at enterprises and in organizations. Student production brigades have become firmly entrenched in the life of rural schools. Last year they had more than 50,000 students.

However, in the development of this remarkable movement there are still major shortcomings. For the Republic as a whole, only one-fourth of the students in grades 7 through 10 of the rural schools are members of the student production brigades. As yet, they have not been created in 252 rural schools. This work is being done especially weakly in Sokulukskiy, Uzgenskiy, and Kara-Suyskiy Rayons.

Comrades! In the light of the requirements of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the system of vocational and technical education will receive further development. In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, entitled "The Further Development of the System of Vocational and Technical Education and the Increasing of Its Role In Training Qualified Work Cadres," which was recently enacted, provision is made for a series of measures to improve vocational and technical education as the basic form of the planned training of qualified work cadres for the mass occupations.

In recent years vocational and technical education has been developing at good rates in the republic. We currently have 116 vocational and technical schools in operation, where 63,000 young men and women are mastering occupations in 230 specialties. Every year the national economy receives 36,000 workers from these schools.

In conformity with the reform, the enrollments in the vocational and technical schools will be approximately doubled. There will be a considerable expansion of the training of workers in the new occupations. A single type of educational institution is being established -- "the secondary vocational and technical school."

All this dictates the need for the considerable reinforcement of the schools' training-materials base. And yet the capital investments allocated for construction in the area of vocational and technical education are being reduced every year. In the 11th Five-Year Plan the union and union-republic ministries and departments allocated 53 percent fewer capital investments than in the 10th Five-Year Plan.

Despite the acute shortage of manpower, the questions of the construction of complexes of construction schools in the cities of Frunze and Rybachye are not being resolved. Funds are not being provided for the development of their schools by Ministry of Rural Construction, Ministry of Light Industry, and Ministry of Consumer Services, KiSSR, the Sredazugol' Association, and enterprises of USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy. May one be permitted to ask their administrators how they are thinking of guaranteeing the planned influx of manpower into the national economy?

The questions of reinforcing the training-materials base of the rural vocational and technical schools and raising the level of instruction of the students require the special attention of the local party, Soviet, and economic agencies. It is necessary to allocate for every rural vocational and technical school plowland for the organization of training farms, and to provide them with technology and fuels and lubricants. It is a task of primary importance for the party, Soviet, and economic agencies to provide assistance in the resolution of the questions of manning the vocational and technical schools in the entire range of specialties.

Steps are being taken slowly to eliminate the shortcomings in the occupational training of the students at the vocational and technical schools. A reliable path for improving the quality of that training is the combining of instruction and productive labor. As was pointed out at the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, every work site that has been created for students must bring society a specific result, and even if it is a small result, it must be a realistic one. And that was stated very correctly.

Gosplan, Gosbank, and the administrators of the base ministries and departments still have a few things to think about. One disturbing fact is the low level of the rate of permanent assignment of the graduates of the schools. According to average data pertaining to several years, after a year of two approximately 60 percent of the graduates leave the labor collectives to which they were sent. And the reason for this is primarily, the inattentive attitude taken by many administrators of the enterprises and farms to the young workers. They fail to create the normal housing and everyday living conditions, and the system of paying for the labor has not yet been systematized. It is necessary to make a fundamental change in that attitude toward the graduates of the vocational and technical schools who have been hired.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers concerning vocational and technical education has defined additional measures for assigning the graduates of the vocational and technical schools to jobs in agricultural production. The farms now can pay the graduates of secondary vocational and technical schools a lump-sum grant to establish a household in the amount of 500 rubles. It is necessary to make broader use of those measures and to guarantee the maximum assignment of young workers to the farms.

The party committees, executive committees of the local Soviets, and the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education (Comrade Kasendeyev) must show more demandingness toward the party organizations, administrators, and collectives of the vocational and technical schools and the base enterprises for the fulfillment of the decision of the April Plenum of the Central Committee -- the guaranteeing to every student of completely valid secondary education and high vocational training.

One of the important principles of the communist indoctrination of the young generation is the cooperation among the school, the family, and the public. It is necessary to intensify constantly the party and pedagogical influence upon the indoctrinational process in the family. Kirgizsovprof [Kirgiz Council of Trade Unions] must increase the activity rate of the commissions for assisting the family and the school, and must be attentive in holding them strictly accountable for any flaws in the family's indoctrination. It is necessary to enliven the work with children at their place of residence.



The implementation of the vast measures stipulated by the school reform requires the further development and reinforcement of the material base of education. The republic has carried out a considerable amount of work in this direction. During the past 13 years we have built 411 schools with accommodations for 236,000 students and 250 children's preschool institutions for 42,000 children.

At the same time the training-materials base for the schools continues to be unsatisfactory. © Only one-third of the school buildings are standard ones. The schools' material base is especially weak in Naryn and Osh Oblasts.

Gosplan (Comrade Begaliyev), Ministry of Education (Comrade Bazarkulov), and the oblast executive committees should reconsider their attitude toward planning the construction of schools and intensify their supervision over that construction. Are we really to feel that it is a normal situation when the annual limits for capital investments for the construction of schools and children's enterprises were used during the first quarter of this year by only 7 percent?

It is necessary to warn the administrators of the construction ministries and departments, the oblast, city, and rayon committees of the party, and the executive committees of the local Soviets that they will bear personal responsibility for guaranteeing the activation of those projects.

There has been a sharp reduction in initiatory school construction in our republic. Whereas during the past five-year plans 7000-9000 student accommodations were built at the expense of kolkhozes annually and turned over for operation, during the first three years of the current five-year plan only 1800 accommodations have been built and turned over. The local Soviets should pay serious attention to this.

Questions of expanding and reinforcing the training-materials base of popular education require careful working out. Gosplan, jointly with the interested ministries and departments, must develop specific measures to carry out the reform and must submit them to the Central Committee and the KiSSR Council of Ministers. In the outlying areas similar plans should be considered at plenums of the party committees and sessions of the Soviets of People's Deputies.

At the present time, when the reorganization of the school system has become a practical job to do and, one might say, we have already begun to carry it out, success depends primarily upon the teacher, upon his energetic and inspired work and professional skill. The Soviet teacher, by his noble activity, has won the nation's deep respect and gratitude. The party and the state place a high value on the teacher's selfless labor. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized, the teacher is "society's authorized agent in indoctrinating our children, and a reliable support for the party in agitation and propaganda, in ideological activity as a whole. . ."

Our republic's general educational schools have almost 58,000 teachers, of whom 71 percent have higher education. More than 850 teachers have been awarded USSR orders and medals; 391 bear the honorary rank of "Honored Teacher of KiSSR"; and more than a thousand teachers have been elected as deputies of the Soviets of People's Deputies. The increase in the salary paid to teachers -- an average of 30-35 percent -- is yet another brilliant manifestation of the Leninist concern

shown by the party and the Soviet state for the teacher in public education. In our republic alone an additional amount of more than 30 million rubles each year will be allocated for these purposes.

In 1982 the KiCP Central Committee specially considered the question "The Condition and Steps for Improving the Housing and Everyday Living Conditions of the Teachers in the Republic's General Educational Schools." In conformity with the decision that was made, during 1983 approximately 2000 square meters of housing was activated for teachers, and many teachers obtained loans for the construction of individual homes. At the present time almost 95 percent of the republic's teachers have been provided with communal or individual housing.

At the same time the work with the teacher cadres still has a large number of shortcomings and unresolved problems. The schools are short more a thousand teachers and there is a large turnover rate with the teachers. This is linked primarily with the fact that the people in the outlying areas do not always show the proper concern for the teacher, for creating the necessary housing and everyday living conditions for him, or guaranteeing him the benefits that have been stipulated for him.

The agencies in public education have been engaging poorly in selecting the young people to go to the pedagogical institutes. The plan for the noncompetitive acceptance into the republic's institutions of higher pedagogical learning has not been fulfilled from year to year. The party committees should take under their supervision the selection for training of those young people who have demonstrated an aptitude for pedagogical work. It is necessary to expand considerably the acceptance of young men for training in the pedagogical specialties, since today the number of men among the teachers in the general educational schools in our republic constitutes only 33 percent, including only 18 percent in the republic's capital and even less -- 12 percent -- in the city's Leninskiy and Pervomayskiy Rayons.

There have been a large number of shortcomings in the work with the administrative personnel in education.

It is necessary, comrades, not only in words, but also by deeds, to increase the authority and prestige of the teacher, as is required by our party's Leninist traditions, to demonstrate constant concern for him, to improve the system for raising his level of qualification, and to think carefully about ways to organize the teachers' recreational time.

Under present-day conditions, high demands are being made on the teacher. By his conduct, way of life, intellect, and culture, he must be an exemplary model for young people to imitate. In this regard it is especially inadmissible to observe among teachers various incidents of amoral behavior or other negative situations. Unfortunately, such incidents do exist and they attest to miscalculations and omissions by the party committees, the education agencies, and the schools' party organizations in indoctrinational work with the pedagogical personnel. It is necessary to carry out all the steps necessary to reinforce the schools' party organizations and to increase the vanguard role of the Communist teachers.

In the decrees of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, emphasis is made of the considerably increased role and responsibility of the Soviets in implementing the single state policy in the field of education. The Soviets of People's Deputies must develop and approve at their sessions the specific plans for reforming the school system.

Comrades! The April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet have discussed the vitally important questions that have been disturbing every Communist, every Soviet citizen. In resolving them, the party, Soviet, and economic agencies and the public organizations in our republic must constantly increase the effectiveness of their organizational, political, and economic activity in implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the plans and socialist pledges for the fourth year of the five-year plan, and the five-year plan as a whole. It is specifically the successes achieved in the socioeconomic development of our country that will be the principal base for the successful carrying out of the school reform.

In conclusion please allow me to assure our party's Leninist Central Committee, its Politburo, and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko personally that the party organization and all the Communists in our republic will do everything for the successful implementation of the decisions of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

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## REGIONAL

### ZAYKOV ADDRESSES LENINGRAD OBKOM PLENUM

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 84 pp 1-2

[Report by L. N. Zaykov, first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom, at the Leningrad Obkom Plenum on 17 Apr 84]

[Excerpts] Yesterday the Leningrad Obkom Plenum took place in Smol'nyy.

Discussed were the results of the April (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the tasks of the Leningrad Party Organization, stemming from the principal propositions and conclusions of addresses at the plenum and session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

L. N. Zaykov, first secretary of the Leningrad Party Obkom, presented a report.

Comrades!

As you know, the Party Central Committee Plenum took place on 10 April of this year.

The plenum reviewed and approved proposals of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on organizational issues and others, associated with conducting the First Session, Eleventh Convocation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Resolutions were adopted on "Further improving the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies" and on "Basic directions of general education and vocational school reform."

CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko delivered a great speech at the plenum.

Proceeding from the aims of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, this most important political document profoundly and comprehensively substantiates the ways of increasing the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies in implementing the policy of the CPSU, makes

fundamental evaluations and conclusions on problems of developing education and specifies the directions of further activities of the party and the Soviet people.

The main essence of the questions discussed at the plenum involves putting into action those resources of stirring the masses to greater activity which have been pledged in further improvement of socialist democracy and the entire political system of the society.

During the work of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the session of the country's Supreme Soviet, despite being very busy, Konstantin Ustinovich found time to receive for detailed discussions many comrades who had arrived from localities. Konstantin Ustinovich showed exceptional attention to the affairs of those from Leningrad, to our plans and problems. He was interested in detail in the progress of fulfilling the goals of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the social development of the city and oblast, and questions of civic improvements, supplying residents with food products and construction of structures protecting Leningrad from floods.

Comrade Chernenko approved of our proposals on developing basic directions of the economic and social development of Leningrad and the oblast as a unified national economic complex for the 12th Five-Year Plan and the period up until the year 2000 and the long-range plan for the new 20-year term.

Among other questions, Konstantin Ustinovich paid special attention to the importance of speeding up implementation of the newest achievements of science and technology, intensification of the oblast's agriculture and improving the system of communist education of workers, above all, young people.

I also want to report that the request to build a monument on Vasil'yevskiy Island by the 70th Anniversary of October in honor of the Great October Socialist Revolution also received support.

Konstantin Ustinovich asked to pass on to the communists and all the people of Leningrad wishes for good health, personal happiness and new achievements in work.

Comrades!

The April CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized that now, when the country has reached the extremely crucial concluding stage of the five-year plan, it will be right if all communists refrain from any sort of slackness whatsoever.

"Concern," said Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, "and even alarm, if you will, for the state plan must not abandon us for a single minute."

It is precisely from such positions that it is necessary to evaluate the results of our work in the first quarter.

Overall, these results are not bad. In practically all sectors of the economy we have coped with the 3-month program. The crucial task of the party on above-plan growth of labor productivity is being successfully fulfilled. In

Leningrad this indicator is 1.2 percent and in the oblast--1.5 percent. In addition, 55 million rubles of industrial output has been realized. The plan for consumer goods production has been overfulfilled in terms of per ruble of wage.

The efficiency of agricultural production has increased. The average milk yield per cow increased by 21 kg, compared with the first quarter of last year.

The plan on assimilating capital investments and putting fixed production capital into operation has been overfulfilled. Enterprises of the maritime and river fleets and civil aviation have coped with the tasks. The retail goods turnover plan has also been fulfilled.

All of this, as the saying goes, is to our credit. However, I think there is no cause for complacency.

There are many shortcomings in the work of this same industry. A number of enterprises have not coped with the plan for output realization and labor productivity growth.

Special anxiety is caused by the fact that acts of breaking contract delivery commitments continue to occur. Plan adjustments, unfortunately, also continue.

There can be only one conclusion from these facts. It resounded clearly at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum: when a plan is law, it must be respected, observed and carried out strictly. This is a question of party and political responsibility.

Administrators of construction organizations as well as buyer-enterprises should stop and think. Overfulfillment of the first quarter quotas does not hide the main shortcoming--the inability to plan and work rhythmically throughout the entire year. I will add that to this date there are projects, especially in the rural area, which do not have complete planning estimates, have no clear equipment delivery dates and the starting complexes have not been determined.

It is not too late to correct the situation. Economic work, as well as effective control of it--and this was said with all certainty at the Party Central Committee Plenum--requires both specificity and efficiency. This applies to city and rayon party committees, industrial sections of the Obkom and Leningrad Gorkom of the CPSU, planning commissions of the ispolkoms of the Leningrad Soviet and Oblast Soviet and the ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies. Of course, this especially applies to the managers of our leading construction organizations and buyer-enterprises.

The state of affairs in this key sector of the national economy is under continuous monitoring of the Party Central Committee.

A conference of the secretaries of central committees of union republic communist parties, kraykoms, party obkoms and directors of ministries and



departments took place on the eve of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, at which questions of ensuring fulfillment of capital construction plans in 1984 were reviewed.

Members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Party Central Committee secretaries, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers and department heads of the CPSU Central Committee participated in the work of the conference.

Priority was given to the task of taking additional effective measures directed at making good the permitted lag and ensuring not only fulfillment but also overfulfillment of 1984 capital construction plans and the five-year plan as a whole. This task has a direct bearing on Leningrad builders also.

Summer is approaching--the hottest time for builders and also for farm, transportation and service workers. Frankly, many collectives of the sectors named are approaching the "peak" of their work unprepared. The Oktyabr'skaya Railroad and the Main Leningrad Administration of Motor Transport have not fulfilled the freight shipment plan. There are those in the agro-industrial complex who owe the state deliveries of livestock products.

We spoke in detail at the Oblast Economic Conference about the problems of increasing the efficiency of agricultural production. Without repeating myself, I will note that now farm workers have two most important tasks: complete wintering in livestock production in an organized manner and conduct spring planting with high pressure. It is necessary to evaluate the activities of each link of the agro-complex according to how labor productivity increases there, costs decrease and output increases. The fate of the crop and the fate of our commitments depend entirely on this.

Comrades!

In resolving the tasks of today and determining the prospects for the future, the party proceeds from the fact that development of the economy and its further intensification can be achieved, first of all, on the basis of accelerating scientific and technical progress. We must constantly be concerned with production fund replacement and increasing the technical level and quality of the tools of labor.

The Party Central Committee and the government recently made a number of important decisions in this area.

One of the oblast party committee plenums was devoted to questions of a principal increase in labor productivity based on the introduction of achievements of science and technology. We outlined a broad range of measures for full mechanization and automation of production and saturation of it with robots and manipulators, application of versatile automatic systems with wide use of electronic computer technology, new advanced construction materials and waste-free production methods.

The development of a territorial-sector program of intensifying development of the Leningrad national economic complex is being accomplished on this basis.

In fact, its realization has begun. Especially industrious work in this direction must be started in 1985 and the 12th Five-Year Plan. It encompasses sectors of industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and communication and public services. If we will be able to arm all people employed in production with the most modern means of labor, then we can count on doubling productivity.

To accomplish these things, all the enterprises of the city and oblast have been given tasks for developing and introducing versatile automated systems and automated project planning. In particular, in 1986 the Znamya Oktyabrya Association will begin operation of an automatic shop for manufacturing parts of widespread use. A year later, printed circuit boards for automatic telephone exchanges will be produced at the Krasnaya Zarya Association on this principle. In all, about 70 automatic productions, shops and plants are envisioned to be introduced by the end of the 12th Five-Year Plan.

Our proposals were examined recently at the USSR Gosplan. Commissions have been given to the appropriate ministries and departments. The State Committee for Science and Technology also approved this program and will provide it with the material resources. Thus, today we have all the prerequisites so that the course taken by us for all-out use of computer technology in all spheres of the Leningrad national economic complex can be put into practice consistently and steadily.

Experience requires that all our economic labor force and, of course, party and soviet workers know economics and possess the ability to use its laws in practice. Now, unfortunately, one can still frequently encounter those cases where even the managers of enterprises have not fully mastered the methods of cost accounting, pricing, cost reduction and labor norm setting.

At many enterprises the most acceptable ways of cost reduction have not been found. This indicator, as is known, is made up of many components. Until such time as the most painful points of production are somehow eliminated--losses of work time due to poor organization of labor, using outdated manufacturing methods and low-productivity equipment, excessive consumption of materials, raw materials, electricity, heat, etc.--we will not be able to achieve fulfillment of this most important task.

Everyone understands that the increasing complexity of products produced and of the economic ties between enterprises and sectors, as well as within enterprises, imposes many additional responsibilities on management personnel.

At the same time, it is important to ensure the optimum correlation of the number of workers employed in production and management. The work started on improving the economic mechanism, as a result, must give precisely such a correlation and erect a barrier to unfounded swelling of the administrative staff. We have more than enough such examples.

It is equally important to improve continuously the organization and technical equipment of management labor. We have the experience of widespread use of office machinery, diverse automated information processing systems and planned accounting.. This experience must be disseminated everywhere and more

persistently. This requires increased personnel qualification and competence and the continual improvement of the work style of party, soviet and economic organs at all levels of management.

The April CPSU Central Committee Plenum with special sharpness raised the question of increasing the role and responsibility of managers in resolving national economic tasks. Success of the matter depends on their personal initiative and ability to organize harmonious and cohesive work of the collective. Nowhere as in working with people is a well thought-out system needed. We have put together the practice of training the reserve for advancement and, on the whole, it justifies itself. But sometimes it also slips, for example, every time we experience great and unfounded difficulties when we need to select a director of an enterprise or a chief specialist, although on paper there exists a specific person who, in the previous supervisor's opinion, is capable of filling a higher position.

This occurs because the party gorkoms and raykoms and the ispolkoms of local soviets do not know the people well, insufficiently study the business-like and moral qualities of the workers included in the reserve for advancement and poorly help them to grow professionally and improve. Apparently, it will be proper to examine the pressing issues of personnel policy at one of the meetings of the party obkom buro. It is advisable to conduct the same work in all party committees.

A large part of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's speech at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and his address at the meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was taken up by issues of improving the activities of the soviets--the political foundation of the USSR and a powerful tool of socialist construction.

Since adoption of the new USSR Constitution, their powers have expanded considerably. The soviets are called upon to ensure the comprehensive development of the economy locally, struggle with bureaucratism, continuously keep in view the fulfillment of state-wide programs and better know and more fully satisfy the needs of the population.

About 20,000 deputies have been elected to the local governmental organs of Leningrad and the oblast. This is a powerful force, capable of resolving major problems. We must do everything so that it operates actively and aggressively and bring to a minimum the existing cases of divergence between the very abundant capabilities of the soviets and how they are used.

The ispolkoms of the Leningrad Soviet and the oblast soviet have a great responsibility for developing and realizing plans for comprehensive economic and social development, and much is being done in this regard. In recent years our plans have become more balanced, more fully take into account the resources of the Leningrad economy and better correlate local and sectorial interests. The ispolkom planning commissions have become stronger. They now possess practically everything necessary for scientifically sound forecasting and analysis of the trends of the region's development. The contribution of the Lentsistemotekhnika and Vympel associations and a number of other industrial and academic institutions in this area is growing. Automated

systems for managing the sectors of the city economy are increasingly being introduced.

In addition, the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum called for placing the work of the soviets on a qualitatively new level, increasing their role in implementation of the party's social and economic policy and achieving effective control, specificity and efficiency in managing economic construction.

We must strive to ensure that every decision of the soviet is carried out absolutely. For example, since the first quarter of last year, the ispolkom of the Gatchina City Soviet has discussed the unsatisfactory work of the Avangard Plant in consumer goods production three times. This problem was also examined at the city soviet session. So, there were many meetings and binding decisions, but the matter is still at a standstill. The plant once again has not fulfilled the plan for the first quarter of this year. I think that this is a convincing example of how business suffers due to the lack of control and exactingness and, simultaneously, the authority of the soviet body decreases.

A key task of the soviets is the reinforcement of responsibility for fulfillment of construction plans for housing and cultural and domestic purpose projects and improvement of services and the everyday life of the people of Leningrad. Here is a large field of action. There are many shortcomings also in trade, medical services and transportation.

In particular, you know, considering the rapid development of the city, how acute the problem is of providing new housing developments with trade enterprises, including manufactured goods. At times the new residents have to travel to the center of the city for every little thing. Problems of storing and processing fruit and vegetable produce have not been fully resolved; the demand for deliveries to the population of packaged bread, milk, sour cream, cheese, eggs, meat and groceries is great. The party obkom is taking every measure to satisfy more fully the growing demands of the population.

I want to report that the USSR Council of Ministers supported the request of the party obkom on construction in Leningrad of two large department stores in the northern and eastern parts of the city where over one million people now live. A cold-storage warehouse will also be built, provided with equipment with a capacity for 20,000 tons of storage at once. Proposals have been made for intensification of the development of food industries, fruit and vegetable farms and trade. Their implementation will make it possible to lower produce loss considerably during its storage and transport, provide for packaging of goods, expand the area of trade halls, reduce labor costs in trade and reduce shopping time.

Of course, comrades, we understand well that the realization of these and other major social measures requires large capital investments. The state, I repeat, is moving in this direction. It is the duty and obligation of party, soviet and economic organs and every worker to use the allocated resources wisely and efficiently.

Many reserves which can be brought into this matter are related to still more active involvement of the population in managing the affairs of the state.

The Party Central Committee requires local party organs to react sharply to shortcomings and other types of disruptions, including those about which workers have reported in letters. But by no means does the party apparatus always operate exactly this way.

Mail received at the CPSU Obkom indicates that many pressing questions raised by workers can be resolved locally. Obviously we should establish such a procedure: at the buros of gorkoms, raykoms and the oblast party committee make the managers of those enterprises, organizations and ispolkom administrations strictly responsible for the shortcomings in work of which justified, unfavorable criticism is received from the people of Leningrad.

Comrades!

These days the reform of general educational and vocational schooling is at the center of the Soviet people's attention.

The people of Leningrad discussed the project of the CPSU Central Committee thoroughly, with a feeling of great satisfaction and a personal interest. About 1.5 million workers took part in the discussion and made over 27,000 comments, additions and clarifications. The nationwide discussion of the CPSU Central Committee project confirms in the best possible way the humanistic essence and genuine democracy of the Soviet state and the party's constant concern for the spiritual development of the people.

The reform outlines specific measures for improving the activities of educational institutions. It proposes to improve the substance of education, improve the curriculums and programs, textbooks and supplies, the methods, forms and means of instruction and also further strengthen the connection of school with life. For these purposes it specifically provides for lengthening the terms of instruction at school by one year, a gradual transition to teaching children starting at age 6, lowering maximum class size and equipping schools and vocational and technical schools with technical equipment.

General secondary education--and this is fundamentally important--will be supplemented by general secondary vocational education.

The oblast, city and rayon party committees and the ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies are devoting much attention to vocational guidance of young people, especially for trades. This is already yielding tangible results: about 40 percent of the graduates of 8-year schools continue training in vocational and technical schools (VTS), receiving both a trade and a secondary education in them. In other words, precisely that optimum ratio which was assumed as the basis of the reform has been achieved.

The close interaction of the school, VTS's to a great degree helps increase the level of instruction and education of the students. Effective forms of such cooperation include lessons on labor instruction on the basis of VTS's, joint competitions of a professional trade and technical work, and subject

olympiads. The annual Smol'nyy Grand Rally held in the Assembly Hall for students wishing to continue their training at VTS's gives a great educational effect. In a word, in Leningrad and the oblast there are all the necessary conditions to achieve new successes in communist education of the rising generation in accordance with the requirements of the reform.

At the same time, one cannot help but see the unresolved problems. Primarily, this concerns starting education of children at the age of 6. Already in September of this year, according to preliminary data, teaching of nearly 4,000 children of this age will begin. Their number will double next year. Public educational institutions and the ispolkoms of local soviets must carefully prepare for this.

In discussing the reform project, most of the parents supported organizing the instruction of children starting at age 6 on the basis of nursery schools. In meeting these desires, we should already today identify the nursery schools and select the teachers who will be teaching the children.

We must not forget about those schools which already have experience in working with this category of children. Estimates show that, with the transition of school to teaching children starting at age six, by 1990 its contingent will grow to nearly 90,000.

The ispolkoms of the oblast and Leningrad City soviets of people's deputies are obliged to make considerable corrections to the plan of economic and social development and to ensure expansion of the school system, taking into account the existing demand. Simultaneously with construction, it is necessary to renovate actively school buildings by adding on classrooms and gymnasiums.

In speaking of the substance of the work of general educational school under the new conditions, we should especially single out one point: the closer we bring school and industry together, the more significant the return from the reform will be. In this regard, the organization of the productive labor of students requires serious improvement. Presently, there is more commotion here than practical deed.

The reform proposes legislatively to oblige base enterprises, based on legal rights, to establish school and inter-school workshops, training shops and sections, student production brigades and labor and rest camps, to allocate equipment and materials and to pay the students a wage.

In the entire system of working with the young people it is necessary to take into account the achievements of technical progress, modern trends in development of the national economy and the emergence of new occupations. The student, having passed the course of instruction in school, must be familiar with the simplest computer equipment, be able to use it and, in a number of cases, be oriented and trained to work on complex electronic computers also.

In an organic connection, there are also problems of vocational and technical education with the schools. The role of vocational and technical schools in



providing the national economy with politically mature, educated and highly qualified workers will grow from year to year.

For the Leningrad party organization the work on managing the process of training and educating the young replacements of the working class in educational institutions is one of the main directions.. The experience of this work, as is known, received a high evaluation in Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's report at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

It is impossible to consider the situation normal when today at some VTS's there are no workshops or dining halls, and in a number of schools there are not enough study rooms and dormitory facilities. The party committees and management of base enterprises, jointly with the Main Leningrad Administration for Vocational Education of the Population, must examine the situation objectively in each school and take all the necessary measures for their full-fledged activity.

As before, few graduates of Leningrad schools aspire to master machine-tool and construction specialties and to become livestock breeders. We talked about this repeatedly, but as yet we still use effective leverage on this process poorly.

The teaching and educational process is the core of the work of both school and VTS's. The main labor of children and youths is studies and a sound mastery of the fundamentals of the sciences. Hence, the requirement to improve instruction of general educational disciplines. In discharging curriculums and making new textbooks, we must not make them easier ideologically and lower the level of instruction. It must be arranged so that at each lesson, whether it be the general educational, social and political or vocational area of study, students receive broad and sound knowledge and a creative attitude toward the cause and high political and social activeness are cultivated in each young boy and girl.

As was stated at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it is necessary that in school they not only talk on the subject of communist morality, but teach the children to pattern their behavior in accordance with it. Here the Komsomol and Pioneers play a very important role. Student self-government should be more actively developed and conventionalism, formalism and boredom eliminated from the activities of the Komsomol organizations and Pioneer detachments. Beyond the large brilliant mass measures, it is obligatory to see the specific student and to reinforce individual work with youths.

It is known that the fundamentals of character and the initial aims in life are put together in the family. "Do not expect good," said Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "if the school instills one thing and the family another." Party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and soviet and economic bodies are obliged to approach the family and its role of preparing children for life with heightened demands.

Speaking of school reform, it should be especially emphasized that no perfect programs, textbooks or technical means whatsoever will solve the problem if there are not enough well-trained educational workers. There are many highly

qualified, educated and creative teachers, on-the-job training foremen and educators working in the public and vocational-technical educational system. Their selfless labor, devotion to the cause and high personal qualities have won deep respect and prestige.

At the same time, there are personnel problems for general educational school and pre-school institutions.

Today there is a need to expand considerably the training of teachers with higher education. There is no effective help from the Leningrad University in these problems either. Its graduates go to work in the school extremely unwillingly, striving by every means possible for redistribution. Last year alone over one-third of the specialists that graduated from Leningrad State University and were directed to teach at schools did not start work. Party organizations of educational institutions are obligated in the future to improve the system of selecting young people for pedagogical VUZ's and to increase the role of public educational bodies and Komsomol committees in this matter. There should be more real concern shown for the workers of schools and VTS's in the plan for providing them living space and medical service, including speeding up resolution of the issue of opening medical dispensaries for teachers.

The prospects of developing public education cannot be considered in an isolated manner, without affecting higher educational institutions. The contribution of the Leningrad VUZ's to the development of the economy is well-known. In the last 3 years alone they have trained over 125,000 qualified specialists for various sectors of the national economy.

At the same time, there is still much here that can and needs to be improved. First and foremost, is to increase the quality of instruction and education in the VUZ's, strengthen the connection with industry and use more fully the large scientific potential of higher educational institutions. The entire system of planning personnel training requires considerably more flexibility. It was precisely these shortcomings of the institutions of the USSR Ministry of Higher Educational Institutions that the 26th Congress of our party and the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum pointed out.

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## REGIONAL

### MOSCOW SOCIOLOGISTS VIEW TURKMEN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Ashkabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 24 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by A. Roslyakov, vice-president of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences: "Problems of Social Development Are Discussed"]

[Text] Today in Ashkhabad, at the TuSSR Academy of Sciences, a republic conference seminar opened entitled "Problems of Social Development in the Turkmen SSR." Sociologists, economists, philosophers and party workers are taking part in it.

The formulation of social relationships according to a scientifically based plan in which the interests of the individual, the collective and society as a whole are coordinated is inherent only to socialism. Under conditions of mature socialism, the significance of planning social development in particular increases. This is related in the first place to the strengthening of the social control of economics, the successes of which create ever broadening possibilities for solving major social problems. The time has come when social planning should be raised to the same level as that of economic planning. It should reflect the genesis of social and spiritual changes in society.

The increase in the role of sociology in all planning and management activity has required, first of all, a more profound development of its basic theoretical problems, as well as the principles of social planning at various levels--the labor collective, the branch, the region and, finally, the social development of the country as a whole. These positions have been laid out as the basis for the 24-25 April meeting of the scientists.

This is the first time a conference seminar of this type has taken place in Turkmenistan. The basis for the conference materials are the results of a number of sociological investigations done in the republic during the years 1980-1983 under the direct guidance of Moscow sociologists. During the course of this work the cadres of young sociologists grew in the republic, and it will fall to them to solve independently future, ever more complex scientific questions.

At the conference seminar the most prominent scientists in the country will speak: V. N. Ivanov, doctor of philosophical sciences and director of the USSR

Academy of Sciences Sociological Research Institute; G. V. Osipov, doctor of philosophical sciences and chief of the Department of History and Theory of Sociology at the same institute; Ye. M. Babasov, director of the BSSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy and Law Institute and corresponding member of the BSSR Academy of Sciences and Z. T. Golenkova, doctor of philosophical sciences, as well as other Moscow sociologists who actively participated in the conduct of sociological research in the TuSSR (G. M. Denisovskiy, P. M. Kozyreva, A. V. Kinsburgskiy, N. I. Shchipanov and others).

Turkmen scientists will also present reports and scientific information: Dzh. B. Bayramov, director of the Economics SRI at the TuSSR Gosplan Computer Center and doctor of economics; T. Khydyrov, deputy chief of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy and Law Department and doctor of philosophical sciences; O. M. Musayev, chief of the Turkmen State Medical Institute faculty of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and other scientific workers and teachers in VUZes of Ashkhabad and Chardzhou.

It is gratifying to note that along with the experienced, highly qualified scientists of the older generation, the young scientists are going to be widely represented as well.

Participants in the conference seminar will be discussing a number of questions directly related to the problem of social development in the republic.

The agenda includes problems of social planning and improvement of the social structure, including questions of projecting changes in the social structure of society, systems of stimulating the economic mechanism of managing the economy, the role of technological retooling in stabilizing the personnel of an enterprise, forming a communist relationship to work and others.

Ideological and educational work in the labor collectives will be discussed as well as the social activism of workers, including the increased role of mass information in the ideological and political education of workers at the present stage. The growing role of the rural intellectuals of Turkmenistan in educating the political consciousness of the workers, as well as the place of collectives in atheistic instruction of youth and political and economic education.

Another important problem is increasing education and culture, questions of family development. This includes questions concerning the cultural development of the TuSSR, growth in the educational level of the population of Turkmenistan at the present stage, features of the development of the general education school in the TuSSR, raising the cultural and technological level of the working class of Turkmenistan during the period of developed socialism, leisure time for workers and the problems of preserving the environment, the influence of parents and family on the formation of communist views among youth on marital and family relationships and other questions.

The republic conference seminar on the problems of social development in the Turkmen SSR will report not only the wealth of results already obtained, but

also on the beginning of a new stage of development in social science in Turkmenistan. In particular, a large comprehensive investigation is pending, on an all-republic scale, in which the problems of social development in the village, service facilities and a number of other pressing questions will play a more significant role than previously.

Materials obtained by the sociologists, their scientifically based projections and practical recommendations are intended for use in the process of preparing a plan for economic and social development of the republic during the Seventh Five-Year Plan and even further into the future. Soviet sociologists, including Turkmenistan sociologists will do all required of them to solve the basic strategic question of the Communist Party--the further development of a mature socialist society and the gradual transition to communism.

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